



Natus Maij 29. An^o 1630. Ætatis suæ 19.



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ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

THE
PORTRAICTURE
OF
HIS SACRED
MAJESTY
IN HIS
Solitudes and Sufferings.

ROM. 8. *AM 2*
More then Conqueror, &c.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.



M. DC. XLVIII.

ERIKON BAZIAIKH

THE
FOURTH
OF
MAY
1880



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Upon His Sacred MAJESTIES incomparable
ΕΙΚΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

Couldst thou before thy death have giv'n what we
Might ask, Thy Book had been the Legacy:
Thy Will can make but Heirs of Monarchy;
But this doth make each man an Heir of Thee:
Blest Soul! Thou art now mounted up on High,
Beyond our Reach, yet not above our Eye;
Lo here Thy other-self: Thus thou canst be
In Heav'n and Earth, without ubiquity.
Like this thou hast no Picture; So Divine,
Might any Image be ador'd, 'twere Thine.
So curious is this Work, 'tis eas'ly known
'Twas drawn by no mans Pensil but Thine own.
None could expresse a King but Thou: We see,
Men cannot, Gods may limn a Deity.
The Style betrays a King, the Art a Man;
The high Devotion speaks a Christian.
These meet in CHARLS alone; but He, there's none
So fully All, as if He were but One:
How short of Thee is Balzack's Prince! He knew
Not how to think what thou knew'st how to do:

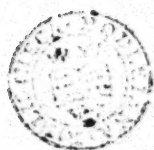
Thou art the Copy for our Kings; and He
shall still be best, that frames Himself by Thee:
Thy Work's a Practick Pattern for Thy Son,
Who, having this, shall need no Xenophon.
They that would know thy parts, must read Thee: look
Thou'lt find each Line a Page, each Page a Book;
Each Comma is so full, each Colon good,
Tis pity Death did put a Period.
Great Tully had been silenc'd amongst men;
Had but Thy Tongue been equall to thy Pen:
But this Defect doth prove Thy skill more choice,
That makes the Eccho sweeter than the voice.
Our Bodley's shelves will now be full; No man
Will want more Books, This one's a Vatican;
Yet 'tis but CHARLS contracted: Since His fall,
Heav'n hath the Volume, Earth the Manual.

The Contents.

1. Upon His Majesties calling this last Parliament.
2. Upon the Earl of Straffords death.
3. Upon His Majesties going to the House of Commons.
4. Upon the Insolency of the Tumults.
5. Upon His Majesties passing the Bills for the Triennial Parliaments, and after settling this, during the pleasure of the two Houses.
6. Upon His Majesties retirement from Westminster.
7. Upon the queens departure, and absence out of England.
8. Upon his Majesties repulse at Hull, and the fates of the Horhams.
9. Upon the lifting and raising Armies against the King.
10. Upon their seizing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia.
11. Upon the nineteen Propositions first sent to the King, and more afterwards.
12. Upon the Rebellion and troubles in Ireland.
13. Upon the Calling in of the Scots, and their Coming.
14. Upon the Covenant.
15. Upon the many Fealousies raised, and scandals cast upon the King, to stir up the people against Him.

The Contents.

16. Upon the Ordinance against The Common-Prayer-Book. 123.
17. Of the Differences between the King and the Houses, in point of Church-Government. 132.
18. Upon Oxbridge-Treaty, and other Offers made by the King. 150.
19. Upon the various events of the War; Victory and Defeat. 155.
20. Upon the Reformations of the Times. 163.
21. Upon His Majesties Letters taken, and delivered. 171.
22. Upon His Majesties leaving Oxford, and going into the Scots. 177.
23. Upon the Scots delivering the KING to the English, and His Captivity at Holmby. 181.
24. Upon their denying His Majesty the Attendance of His Chaplains. 185.
25. Penitential Meditations and Vows in the KINGs Solitude at Holmby. 197.
26. Upon the Armes Surprisal of the KING at Holmby, and the ensuing distractions in the two Houses, the Army, and the City. 201.
27. To the Prince of Wales. 209.
28. Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addresses, and His Majesties closer Imprisonment in Carisbrook-Castle. 227.





The Explanation of the EMBLEM.

Horribus genus omne mali, probrisque gravatus.
Sedunda serens, Palma in Depressa, exurgit.

Ac, velut undarum Fluctus Ventique, furor
Irati Populi Rupes immota repello.
Clarius è tenebris, caelestis Stella, corusco.
Victor et æternum-felici pace triumpho.

Auro Fulgentem rutilo gemmisq; micantem.
At curis Gravidam spernendo calco Coronam.

Spinosam, at ferri facilem, quo Spes mea, Christi
Auxilio, Nobis non est tractare molestum.

Æternam, fixis fidei, semperq; beatam
In Caelos oculis Specto, Nobisq; paratam.

Quod Vanum est, sperno; quod Christi Gratia prebet
Amplexu studium est: Virtutis Gloria merces.

To XI 888v nōlxnoe flu

Though clogg'd with weights of miseries
Lam-like depressed, I might have

And as th'unmoved Rock out-braves
The boistrous Windes and raging wave
So triumph I And shine more bright
In sad Affliction's Darksom night .

That Splendid, but yet toilsom Crown
Regardlessly I trample down .

With joie I take this Crown of thorn .
Though sharp, yet easie to be born .

That heav'nlic Crown, already mine,
I view with eies of Faith divine .

I slight vain things; and do embrace
Glorie, the just reward of Grace .

τὴν πάλιν, ὁδὸν τὸ Κἄτωα .

of moderation as are best both to preserve and restore the health of all States and Kingdoms:) No man was better pleased with the convening of this Parliament, then My self; who knowing best the largeness of My own Heart toward My Peoples good and just contentment, pleased My self most in that good and firm understanding, which would hence grow between Me and My People.

All Jealousies being laid aside, My own and My Childrens Interests gave Me many obligations to seek and preserve the love and welfare of My Subjects. The onely temporal blessing that is left to the ambition of just Monarchs, as their greatest honor and safety, next Gods protection, I cared not to lessen My self in some things of My wonted Prerogative; since I knew I could be no loser, if I might gain but a recompence in My Subjects affections.

I intended not onely to oblige My friends, but Mine enemies also: exceeding even the desires of those, that were factiously discontented, if they did but pretend to any modest and sober sense.

The *odium* and offences which some mens rigor or remissness in Church, and State, had contracted upon My Government, I resolved to have expiated by such Laws, and regulations for the future, as might not onely rectifie what was amiss in practise, but supply what was defective in the constitution; No man having a greater zeal to see Religion settled, and preserved in
Truth,

Truth, Unity, and Order, then My self; whom it most concerns both in piety, and policy; as knowing, that, No flames of civil dissensions are more dangerous then those which make Religious pretensions the grounds of Factions.

I resolved to reform, what I should by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced to be amiss; and to grant whatever My Reason and Conscience told Me, was fit to be desired; I wish I had kept My self within those bounds, and not suffered My own Judgement to have been overborn in some things, more by others Importunities, than their Arguments; My confidence had less betrayed My self, and My Kingdoms, to those advantages, which some men sought for, who wanted nothing but power, and occasion to do mischief.

But our sins being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods Justice, from reaping that glory in Our Calamities, which We robb'd him of in Our Prosperity.

For thou (O Lord) hast made us see, that Resolutions of future Reforming do not always satisfy thy Justice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former miscarriages.

Our sins have overlaid our hopes; Thou hast taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpose to amend.

When thou hast vindicated thy glory by thy Judgements, and hast shewed us, how unsafe it is

to offend thee, upon presumptions afterwards to please thee; Then I trust thy mercies will restore those blessings to us, which we have so much abused, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timely repentance of our sins, Thou givest us cause to repent of those remedies we too late apply.

Yet I do not repent of My calling this last Parliament; because, O Lord, I did it with an upright intention, to thy glory, and my peoples good.

The miseries which have ensued upon me and my Kingdoms, are the just effects of thy displeasure upon us; and may be yet (through thy mercy) preparatives of us to future blessings, and better hearts to enjoy them.

O Lord, though thou hast deprived us of many former comforts; yet grant me and my people the benefit of our afflictions, & thy chastisements; that thy rod as well as thy staff may comfort us: Then shall we dare to account them the strokes not of an enemy, but a Father: when thou givest us those humble affections, that measure of patience in repentance, which becomes thy children; I shall have no cause to repent the miseries this Parliament hath occasioned, when by them thou hast brought me and my people, unfeignedly to repent of the sins we have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our sufferings, then our peace could be with our sins.

O thou sovereign goodness and wisdom, who over-rulest all our Counsels; over-rule also all

our

our hearts; That the worse things we suffer by thy justice, the better we may be by thy mercy.

As our sins have turned our Antidotes into poyson, so let thy Grace turn our poysons into Antidotes.

As the sins of our peace disposed us to this unhappy war, so let this war prepare us for thy blessed peace.

That although I have but troublesom Kingdoms here, yet I may attain to that Kingdom of Peace in my heart, and in thy Heaven, which Christ hath purchased, and thou wilt give to thy servant (though a Sinner) for my Saviours sake, Amen.

II. Upon the Earl of Straffords death.

I Looked upon My Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then ashamed to employ him, in the greatest affairs of State.

For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errors, and many enemies: Whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a sphear, and with so vigorous a lustre, he must needs (as the Sun) raise many envious exhalations, which condensed by a popular *odium*, were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit, and integrity.

Though I cannot in My judgement approve

all he did, driven (it may be) by the necessities of times, and the Temper of that People, more then led by his own disposition to any height and rigor of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any such criminousness in him, as willingly to expose his life to the stroke of Justice, and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affairs, then in the business of that unfortunate Earl: when between My own unsatisfiedness in Conscience, and a necessity (as some told Me) of satisfying the importunities of some people, I was perswaded by those, that I think wished Me well, to chuse rather what was safe, then what seemed just; preferring the outward peace of My Kingdoms with men, before that inward exactness of Conscience before God.

And indeed I am so far from excusing or denying that compliyanse on My part (for plenary consent it was not) to his destruction, whom in My judgement I thought not, by any clear Law, guilty of death: That I never bare any touch of Conscience with greater regret: which, as a sign of My repentance, I have often with sorrow confessed both to God and men, as an act of so sinful frailty, that it discovered more a fear of Man, than of God, whose name and place on Earth no man is worthy to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of so high injustice, as no publique convenience can expiate or compensate.

I see

I see it a bad exchange to wound a mans own Conscience, thereby to salve State sores, to calm the storms of popular discontents, by stirring up a tempest in a mans own bosom.

Nor hath Gods Justice failed in the event and sad consequences, to shew the world the fallacy of that Maxime, *Better one man perish (though unjustly) then the people be displeased, or destroyed.* For,

In all likelyhood, I could never have suffered, with My people, greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Strafford's* innocency, at least by denying to sign that destructive Bill, according to that Justice, which My conscience suggested to Me, then I have done since I gratified some mens unthankful importunities with so cruel a favor. And I have observed, that those, who counselled Me to sign that Bill, have been so far from receiving the rewards of such ingratiations with the People, that no men have been harassed and crushed more than they: He onely hath been least vexed by them, who counselled Me, not to consent against the vote of My own Conscience; I hope God hath forgiven Me and them, the sinful rashness of that business.

To which being in My soul so fully conscious, those Judgements God hath pleased to send upon Me, are so much the more welcom, as a means (I hope) which his mercy hath sanctified so to Me, as to make Me repent of that unjust Act, (for so it was to Me) and for the future to teach

Me, That the best rule of policy is to prefer the doing of Justice, before all enjoyments, and the peace of My Conscience before the preservation of My Kingdoms.

Nor hath any thing more fortified My resolutions against all those violent importunities, which since have sought to gain alike consent from Me, to Acts, wherein My Conscience is unsatisfied, then the sharp touches I have had for what passed Me, in My Lord of *Strafford's* Business.

Not that I resolved to have employed him in My affairs, against the advice of My Parliament, but I would not have had any hand in his Death, of whose Guiltlesness I was better assured, then any man living could be.

Nor were the Crimes objected against him so clear, as after a long and fair hearing to give convincing satisfaction to the Major part of both Houses; especially that of the Lords, of whom scarce a third part were present, when the Bill passed that House: And for the House of Commons, many Gentlemen, disposed enough to diminish My Lord of *Straffords* greatness and power, yet unsatisfied of his guilt in Law, durst not condemn him to die: who for their Integrity in their Votes, were by Posting their Names, exposed to the popular calumny, hatred, and fury; which grew then so exorbitant in their clamors for *Justice*, (that is, to have both My self and the two Houses Vote, and do as they would have

have us.) that many ('tis thought) were rather terrified to concur with the condemning party, then satisfied that of right they ought so to do.

And that after Act vacating the Authority of the precedent, for future imitation, sufficiently tells the world, that some remorse touched even his most implacable enemies, as knowing he had very hard measure, and such as they would be very loath should be repeated to themselves.

This tenderness and regret I finde in My soul, for having had any hand (and that very unwillingly God knows) in shedding one mans blood unjustly, (though under the colour and formalities of Justice, and pretences of avoiding publique mischiefs) which may (I hope) be some evidence before God and Man, to all Posterity, that I am far from bearing justly the vast load and guilt of all that blood which hath been shed in this unhappy War; which some men will needs charge on *Me*, to ease their own souls, who am, and ever shall be, more afraid to take away any mans life unjustly, then to lose My own.

But thou, O God of infinite mercies, forgive me that act of sinful compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon me then any man. Since I had not the least temptation of envy, or malice against him, and by my place should, at least so far, have been a preserver of him, as to have denied my consent to his destruction.

O

O Lord, I acknowledge my transgression, and my sin is ever before me.

Deliver me from blood guiltiness, O God, thou God of my salvation, and my tongue shall sing of thy righteousness.

Against thee have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight, for thou sawest the contradiction between my heart and my hand.

Yet cast me not away from thy presence, purge me with the blood of my Redeemer, and I shall be clean; wash me with that precious effusion, and I shall be whiter than snow.

Teach me to learn Righteousness by thy Judgements, and to see my frailty in thy Justice: while I was persuaded by shedding one mans blood to prevent after-troubles, thou hast for that, among other sins, brought upon me, and upon my Kingdoms, great, long, and heavy troubles.

Make me to prefer Justice, which is thy will, before all contrary clamors, which are but the discovenies of mans injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome me, to please them by displeasing thee: O never suffer me for any reason of State, to go against my Reason of Conscience, which is highly to sin against thee, the God of Reason, and Judge of our Consciences.

What ever, O Lord, thou seest fit to deprive me of, yet restore unto me the joy of thy Salvation, and ever uphold me with thy free Spirit; which subjects my will to none, but thy light of Reason,

Reason, Justice, and Religion, which shines in my Soul, for Thou desirest Truth in the inward parts, and Integrity in the outward expressions.

Lord hear the voice of thy Sons, and my Saviors Blood, which speaks better things; and make me, and my People, to hear the voice of Joy and Gladness, that the bones which thou hast broken, may rejoyce in thy salvation.

III. Upon His Majesties going to the House of Commons.

MY going to the House of Commons to demand Justice upon the five Members, was an act, which My enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exasperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealousies and fears; yea, and many of my friends resented it as a motion rising rather from Passion then Reason, and not guided with such discretion, as the touchiness of those times required.

But these men knew not the just motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought My self so furnished, that there needed nothing to such evidence, as I could have produced against those I charged, save onely a free and legal Tryal, which was all I desired.

Nor had I any temptation of displeasure, or revenge against those mens persons, further then I had discovered those (as I thought) unlawful

cor-

correspondencies they had used, and engagements they had made, to embroyl My Kingdoms: of all which I missed but little to have produced writings under some mens own hands, who were the chief Contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it so, yet I wanted not such probabilities as were sufficient to raise jealousies in any Kings heart, who is not wholly stupid and neglective of the publique Peace, which to preserve by calling in question half a dozen men, in a fair and legal way (which God knows was all My design) could have amounted to no worse effect, had it succeeded, then either to do Me, and My Kingdom right, in case they had been found guilty; or else to have cleared their Innocency, and removed My suspicions; which, as they were not raised out of any Malice, so neither were they in Reason to be smothered.

What flames of discontent this spark (though I sought by all speedy and possible means to quench it) soon kindled, all the world is witness: The aspersions which some men cast upon that action, as if I had designed by force to assault the House of Commons, and invade their Privilege, is so false, that as God best knows, I had no such intent; so none that attended could justly gather from any thing I then said, or did, the least intimation of any such thoughts.

That I went attended with some Gentlemen,

as

as it was no unwonted thing for the Majesty and safety of a King so to be attended, especially in discontented times; so were My followers at that time short of My ordinary Guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more scared at My coming, then I was unassured of not having some affronts cast upon Me, if I had none with Me to preserve a reverence to Me; For many people had (at that time) learn'd to think those hard thoughts, which they have since abundantly vented against Me, both by words and deeds.

The sum of that business was this:

Those men, and their adherents were then looked upon by the affrighted vulgar, as greater protectors of their Laws and Liberties, then My self, and so worthier of their protection. I leave them to God, and their own Consciences, who, if guilty of evil machinations; no present impunity; or popular vindications of them will be subterfuge sufficient to rescue them from those exact Tribunals.

To which, in the obstructions of Justice among men, we must religiously appeal, as being an argument to us Christians of that after unavoidable Judgement, which shall re-judge, what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavored to have prevented, if God had seen fit, those future commotions, which I foresaw, would in all likelihood follow some mens activity (if not restrained) and so now hath done

to

to the undoing of many thousands; the more is the pity.

But to over-awe the freedom of the Houses, onto weaken their just Authority by any violent impressions upon them, was not at all My design: I thought I had so much Justice and Reason on My side, as should not have needed so rough assistance; and I was resolved rather to bear the repulse with patience, then to use such hazardous extremities.

But thou, O Lord, art my witness in heaven, and in my heart: If I have purposed any violence or oppression against the Innocent: or if there were any such wickedness in my thoughts.

Then let the enemy persecute my soul, and tread my life to the ground, and lay mine Honor in the dust.

Thou that seest not as man seeth, but lookest beyond all popular appearances, searching the heart, and trying the reins, and bringing to light the hidden things of darkness, shew thy self.

Let not my afflictions be esteemed (as with wise and godly men they cannot be) any argument of my sin, in that matter: more then their impunity among good men, is any sure token of their Innocency.

But forgive them wherein they have done amiss, though they are not punished for it in this world.

Save thy servant from the privy conspiracies,
and

and open violence of bloody and unreasonable men,
according to the uprightness of my heart, and the
innocency of my hands in this matter.

Plead my cause, and maintain my right, O thou
that sittest in the Throne, judging rightly, that thy
servant may ever rejoyce in thy salvation.

IV. Upon the Insolency of the Tumults.

I Never thought any thing (except our sins)
more ominously presaging all these mischiefs
which have followed, then those Tumults in
London and Westminster, soon after the Con-
vening of this Parliament; which were not like
a storm at Sea, (which yet wants not its terror)
but like an Earthquake, shaking the very founda-
tions of all, then which, nothing in the world
hath more of horror.

As it is one of the most convincing Arguments
that there is a God, while his power sets bounds
to the raging of the Sea: so 'tis no less, that he
restrains the madness of the people. Nor doth
any thing portend more Gods displeasure against
a Nation, then when he suffers the confluence
and clamors of the vulgar, to pass all boundaries
of Laws, and reverence to Authority.

Which those Tumults did to so high degrees
of Insolence, that they spared not to invade the
Honor and Freedom of the two Houses, me-
nacing, reproaching, shaking, yea, and assaulting
some Members of both Houses, as they fancy-
ed,

ed, or disliked them: Nor did they forbear most rude and unseemly deportments both in contemptuous words and actions, to My self and My Court.

Nor was this a short fit or two of shaking, as an Ague, but a quotidian Fever, always encreasing to higher inflammations, impatient of any mitigation, restraint, or remission.

First, they must be a guard against those fears, which some men scared themselves and others withal; when indeed nothing was more to be feared, and less to be used by wise men, than those tumultuary confluxes of mean and rude people, who are taught first to petition, then to protect, then to dictate, at last to command and over-awe the Parliament.

All obstructions in Parliament (that is, all freedom of differing in Votes, and debating matters with Reason and Candor) must be taken away with these Tumults: By these must the Houses be purged, and all rotten Members (as they pleased to count them) cast out: By these the obstinacy of men resolved to discharge their Consciences must be subdued: By these all factious, seditious, and schismatical Proposals against Government Ecclesiastical or Civil, must be backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, who ever had most minde to bring forth confusion and ruine upon Church and State, used the midwifery of those Tumults: whose ryot and impatience was such, that they would

would not stay the ripening and season of Counsels, or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravity, and deliberateness befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, such as their Inviters and Incouragers most fancied.

Yea, so enormous and detestable were their outrages, that no sober man could be without an infinite shame and sorrow to see them so tolerated, and connived at by some, countenanced, encouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he most desired, for the publique good, then obtain it by such unlawful and irreligious means? But mens passions and Gods directions seldom agree; violent designs and motions must have suitable engines, such as too much attend their own ends, seldom confine themselves to Gods means. Force must crowd in what Reason will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrons of Tumults, to send for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and tune their clamorous importunities, some men yet living are too conscious to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let these see, that those were no fit means to be used for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no strange thing for the Sea to rage, when strong winds blow upon it; so neither for Multitudes to become insolent, when

they have Men of some reputation for parts and piety to let them on.

That which made their rudeness most formidable, was, that many complaints being made, and Messages sent by My self and some of both Houses; yet no order for redress could be obtained with any vigor and efficacy, proportionable to the malignity of that now far-spread disease, and predominant mischief.

Such was some mens stupidity, that they feared no inconvenience; Others petulancy, that they joyed to see their betters shamefully outraged, and abused, while they knew their onely security consisted in vulgar flattery: So insensible were they of Mine, or the two Houses common safety and Honors.

Nor could ever any order be obtained, impartially to examine, censure, and punish the known Boutefeus, and impudent Incendiaries, who boasted of the influence they had, and used to convoke those Tumults as their advantages served.

Yea, some (who should have been wiser Statesmen) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeal, and Industry; which to sober men could seem no better then that of the Devil, who goes about seeking whom he may deceive and devour.

I confess, when I found such a deafness, that no Declaration from the Bishops, who were first foully intolenced and assaulted; nor yet from other

other Lords and Gentlemen of Honor; nor yet from My self could take place for the due repression of these Tumults; and securing not only Our freedom in Parliament but Our very Persons in the streets; I thought My self not bound by My presence, to provoke them to higher boldness and contempts; I hoped by My withdrawing to give time, both for the ebbing of their tumultuous fury and others regaining some degrees of modesty and sober sense.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Pusillanimity, for any man for popular terrors to desert his publique station. But I think it a hardiness, beyond true valor, for a wise man to set himself against the breaking in of a Sea; which to resist, at present, threatens imminent danger; but to withdraw, gives it space to spend its fury, and gains a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly, a gallant man had rather fight to great disadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly way, then skuffle with an undisciplined rabble.

Some suspected and affirmed that I meditated a War, (when I went from *Whitehall* onely to redeem My Person and Conscience from violence) God knows I did not then think of a War. Nor will any prudent man conceive that I would by so many former, and some after Acts, have so much weakned My self, if I had purposed to engage in a War, which to decline by all means, I denyed My self in so many par-

16
THE SECOND PART.
circulars: 'Tis evident I had then no Army to
flie unto, for protection, or vindication.

Who can blame Me, or any other, for a with-
drawing our selves from the daily baitings of
the Tumults, not knowing whether their fury
and discontent might not flie so high, as to worry
and tear those in pieces, whom as yet they but
played with in their paws: God, who is My sole
Judge, is My Witness in Heaven, that I never
had any thoughts of going from My house at
Whitehall, if I could have had but any reason-
able fair quarter; I was resolved to bear much,
and did so, but I did not think My self bound
to prostitute the Majesty of My Place and Per-
son, the safety of My Wife and Children, to
those, who are prone to insult most, when they
have objects and opportunity most capable of
their rudeness and petulancy.

But this business of the Tumults (whereof
some have given already an account to God,
others yet living know themselves desperately
guilty) Time and the guilt of many hath so
smothered up, and buried, that I think it best
to leave it, as it is; Onely I believe the just
Avenger of all disorders, will in time make
those men, and that City, see their sin in the glass
of their punishment. 'Tis more then an even-
lay, that they may one day see themselves pu-
nished by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its first E-
lection and Constitution, sate full and free, the
Members

Members of both Houses being left to their freedom of Voting, as in all Reason, Honor, and Religion, they should have been; I doubt not but things would have been so carried, as would have given no less content to all good men, then they wished or expected.

For, I was resolved to hear reason in all things, and to consent to it so far as I could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations, so are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian Concourses to publique Councels, turning all into Disorders and sordid Confusions.

I am prone sometimes to think, That had I called this Parliament to any other place in *England* (as I might opportunely enough have done) the sad consequences in all likelyhood, with Gods blessing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcom in any place; no place afforded such confluence of various and vicious humors, as that where it was unhappily convened. But we must leave all to God, who orders our disorders, and magnifies his wisdom most, when our follies and miseries are most discovered.

But thou, O Lord, art my refuge and defence, to thee I may safely flie, who rulest the raging of the Sea, and the madness of the People.

The floods, O Lord, the floods are come in upon me, and are ready to overwhelm me.

21
EIKON SARRATHE
I look upon my sins, and the sins of my people,
(which are the tumults of our souls against thee,
O Lord) as the just cause of these popular in-
dignations which thou permittest to overbear all the
banks of Loyalty, Modesty, Laws, Justice, and
Religion.

But thou that gatherest the waters into one
place, and madest the dry Land to appear, and after-
wards affwage the flood which drowned the world,
by the word of thy power; Rebuke those beasts of
the People, and deliver me from the madness and
stirrings of the Multitude.

Restore, we beseech thee, unto us, the freedoms of
our Councils and Parliaments, make us unpassio-
nately to see the light of Reason, and Religion, and
with an order and gravity to follow it, as it be-
comes Men and Christians; so shall we praise thy
Name, who art the God of order and counsel.

What man cannot, or will not repress, thy Om-
nipotent Justice can and will.

O Lord, give them that are yet living, a timely
sense and sorrow for their great sin, whom thou
knowest guilty of raising or not suppressing those
disorders: Let shame here, and not suffering
hereafter be their punishment.

Set bounds to our passions by Reason, to our errors
by Truth, to our seditions by Laws duly executed,
and to our schisms by Charity, that we may be, as
thy Jerusalem, a City at unity in it self.

This grant, O my God, in thy good time, for
Jesus Christs sake, Amen.

V. Upon

V. Upon His Majesties passing the Bill for the Triennial Parliaments: And after setting this, during the pleasure of the two Houses.

THat the world might be fully confirmed in My purposes at first, to contribute, what in Justice, Reason, Honor, and Conscience, I could, to the Happy success of this Parliament, (which had in Me no other design, but the General good of My Kingdoms) I willingly passed the BILL for Triennial Parliaments: which, as gentle and seasonable Physick, might (if well applyed) prevent any distempers from getting any head or prevailing; especially, if the remedy proved not a disease beyond all remedy.

I conceived, this Parliament would finde work with convenient recesses for the first three years; But I did not imagine that some men would thereby have occasioned more work then they found to do, by undoing so much as they found well done to their hands. Such is some mens activity, that they will needs make work rather then want it; and chuse to be doing amiss, rather then do nothing.

When that first Act seemed too scanty to satisfie some means fears, and compass publique affairs; I was perswaded to grant that BILL of Sitting during the pleasure of the Houses, which amounted in some mens sense to as much as the perpetuating this Parliament. By this

Act of highest confidence, I hoped for ever to shut out, and lock the door upon all present Jealousies, and future Mistakes : I confess I did not thereby intend to shut My self out of doors, as some men have now required Me.

True, It was an Act unparalleld by any of My Predecessors ; yet cannot in reason admit of any worse interpretation then this, of an extreme confidence I had, that My Subjects would not make ill use of an Act, by which I declared so much to trust them, as to deny My self in so high a point of My Prerogative.

For good Subjects will never think it just or fit, that My condition should be worse by My bettering theirs : Nor indeed would it have been so in the events, if some men had known as well with moderation to use, as with earnestness to desire advantages of doing good, or evil.

A continual Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weal in tune, by preserving Laws in their due execution and vigor, wherein My interest lies more than any mans, since by those Laws, My Rights as a KING, would be preserved no less than My Subjects ; which is all I desired. More than the Law gives Me I would not have, and less the meanest Subject should not.

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I soon repented Me of that settling Act : and many would needs perswade Me, I had cause so to do ; but I could not easily nor suddenly suspect

suspect such ingratitude in Men of Honor, That
the more I granted them, the less I should have,
and enjoy with them. I still counted My self un-
diminished by My largest concessions, if by them
I might gain and confirm the love of My People,

Of which, I do not yet despair, but that God
will still bless Me with increase of it: when Men
shall have more leisure, and less prejudice; that
so with unpassionate representations they may
reflect upon those (as I think) not more princely,
then friendly contributions, which I granted to-
wards the perpetuating of their happiness, who
are now onely miserable in this, That some mens
ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what
I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in Gods due time,
the Loyal and cleared affections of My people
will strive to return such retributions of Honor,
and love to Me, or My Posterity, as may fully
compensate both the acts of My confidence and
My sufferings for them; which (God knows)
have been neither few, nor small, nor short; oc-
casioned chiefly by a perswasion I had, that I
could not grant too much, or distrust too little,
to Men, that being professedly My Subjects, pre-
tended singular piety, and religious strictness.

The Injury of all Injuries is, That which some
men will needs load Me withal; as if I were a
wilful and resolved Occasioner of My own and
My Subjects Miseries; while (as they confidently,
but (God knows) falsely divulge) I repining at the
establish-

establishment of this Parliament, endeavored by force and open hostility to undo what by My Royal assent I had done. Sure it had argued a very short sight of things, and extream fatuity of minde in Me, so far to binde My own hands at their request, if I had shortly meant to have used a Sword against them. God knows, though I had then a sense of Injuries; yet not such, as to think them worth vindicating by a War: I was not then compelled, as since, to injure My self by their not using favors, with the same candor wherewith they were conferred. The Tumults indeed threatened to abuse all Acts of Grace, and turn them into wantonness; but I thought at length their own fears, whose black arts first raised up those turbulent Spirits, would force them to conjure them down again.

Nor if I had justly resented any indignities put upon Me, or others, was I then in any capacity to have taken just revenge in an Hostile and Warlike way upon those, whom I knew so well fortified in the love of the meaner sort of the people, that I could not have given My enemies greater, and more desired advantages against Me, then by so unprincipely Inconstancy, to have assaulted them with Arms, thereby to scatter them, whom but lately I had solemnly settled by an Act of Parliament.

God knows I longed for nothing more, then that My self and My Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of My many condescendings.

It

It had been a Course full of sin; as well as of Hazard, and dishonor for Me to go about this cutting up of that by the Sword, which I had so lately planted; so much (as I thought) to My Subjects content, and Mine own too, in all probability: If some men had not feared where no fear was, whose security consisted in scaring others.

I thank God I know so well the sincerity and uprightness of My own heart, in passing that great Bill, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times; That although I may seem less a Politician to men, yet I need no secret distinctions or evasions before God. Nor had I any reservations in My own Soul, when I passed it; nor repentings after, till I saw that My letting some men go up to the Pinnacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to cast Me down head-long.

Concluding, that without a miracle, Monarchy it self, together with Me, could not but be dashed in pieces, by such a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercy forgive, and make them see at length, That as many Kingdoms as the Devil shewed our Saviour, and the glory of them, (if they could be at once enjoyed by them) are not worth the gaining, by ways of sinful ingratitude and dishonor, which hazards a Soul worth more Worlds than this hath Kingdoms.

But God hath hitherto preserved Me, and made Me to see, That it is no strange thing for men, left to their own passions, either to do much evil themselves, or abuse the overmuch goodness

ness of others, whereof an ungrateful Surfeit is
the most desperate and incurable disease.

I cannot say properly that I repent of that
Act, since I have no reflexions upon it as a sin of
My will, though an error of too charitable a
judgement: Onely I am sorry other mens eyes
should be evil, because Mine were good.

To thee (O my God) do I still appeal, whose
All-discerning Justice sees through all the dis-
guises of mens pretensions, and deceitful darknes-
ses of their hearts.

Thou gavest me a heart to grant much to my
Subjects; and now I need a heart fitted to suffer
much from some of them.

Thy will be done, though never so much to the
crossing of ours, even when we hope to do what
might be most conformable to thine and theirs too;
who pretended they aimed at nothing else.

Let thy grace teach me wisely to enjoy as well
the frustratings, as the fulfillings of My best
hopes, and most specious desires.

I see while I thought to allay others fears, I
have raised mine own; and by settling them, have
unsettled my self.

Thus have they requited me evil for good; and
hatred for my good will towards them.

O Lord be thou my Pilot in this dark and dange-
rous storm, which neither admits my return to the
Port whence I set out, nor my making any other,
with that safety and honor which I designed.

Tis

It is easie for thee to keep me safe in the love and confidence of my people; nor is it hard for thee to preserve me amidst the unjust hatred and jealousies of too many; which thou hast suffered so far to prevail upon me; as to be able to pervert and abuse my acts of greatest Indulgence to them; and assurance of them.

But no favors from me can make others more guilty then my self may be, of misusing those many and great ones, which thou, O Lord, hast conferred on me.

I beseech thee give me and them such Repentance, as thou wilt accept, and such Grace as we may not abuse.

Make me so far happy, as to make a right use of others abuses, and by their failings of me; to reflect, with a reforming displeasure, upon my offences against thee.

So, although by my sins I am by other mens sins deprived of thy temporal blessings, yet I may be happy to enjoy the comfort of thy mercies, which often raise the greatest Sufferers to be the most glorious Saints.

VI. Upon His Majesties retirement from Westminster.

With what unwillingness I withdrew from Westminster, let them judge, who, unprovided of rackling, and victual, are forced by Sea to a storm; yet better do

do so, then venture splitting or sinking on a Lee shore.

I stayed at *Whitehall*, till I was driven away by shame more than fear, to see the barbarous rudeness of those Tumults, who resolved they would take the boldness to demand any thing, and not leave either My self, or the Members of Parliament the liberty of Our Reason and Conscience to deny them any thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppression My case alone, (though chiefly Mine) For the Lords and Commons might be content to be overvoted by the *major* part of their Houses, when they had used each their own freedom.

Whose agreeing Votes were not by any Law or Reason conclusive to My judgement; nor can they include, or carry with them My consent, whom they represent not in any kinde; Nor am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houses, then I see them agree with the will of God, with My just Rights, as a King, and the general good of My People. I see that as many men they are seldom of one minde; and I may oft see, that the major part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to sober and moderate mindes, how desirous I was to give all just content, when I agreed to so many Bills, which had been enough to secure and satisfie all: If some mens *Hydropick* insatiableness had not learned to thirst the more, by how much more they drank; whom no fountain of Royal bounty was able to

over-

overtome; so resolved they seemed, either utterly to exhaust it, or barbarously to obstruct it. Sure it ceases to be Councell, when not Reason is used, as to men to perswade, but force and terror as to beasts, to drive and compel men to assent to whatever tumultuary Patrons shall project. He deserves to be a slave without pity, or redemption, that is content to have the rational sovereignty of his Soul, and liberty of his will and words so captivated.

Nor do I think My Kingdoms so considerable, as to preserve them with the forfeiture of that freedom, which cannot be denied Me as a King, because it belongs to Me as a Man, and a Christian; owning the dictates of none, but God, to be above Me, as obliging Me to consent. Better for Me to die enjoying this Empire of My Soul, which subjects Me onely to God, so far as by Reason or Religion he directs Me, then live with the Title of a King, if it should carry such a vassalage with it, as not to suffer Me to use My Reason and Conscience, in which I declare as a King, to like or dislike.

So far am I from thinking the Majesty of the Crown of *England* to be bound by any Coronation Oath, in a blinde and brutish formality, to consent to what ever its Subjects in Parliament shall require, as some men will needs infer; while denying Me any power of a Negative voice as King, they are not ashamed to seek to deprive Me of the liberty of using My Reason with a
good

good Conscience, which themselves; and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publique; who would take it very ill to be urged, not to deny, whatever My self, as King, or the House of Peers with Me should, not so much desire as enjoin them to pass. I think My Oath fully discharged in that point, by My Governing onely by such Laws, as My People with the House of Peers have Chosen, and My self consented to. I shall never think My self conscientiously tied to go as oft against My Conscience, as I should consent to such new Proposals, which My Reason, in Justice, Honor, and Religion bids Me deny.

Yet so tender I see some men are of their being subject to Arbitrary Government, (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themselves give no consent) that they care not with how much dishonor and absurdity they make their King the onely man, that must be subject to the will of others, without having power left Him, to use His own Reason, either in Person, or by any Representation.

And if My dissentings at any time were (as some have suspected, and uncharitably avowed) out of error, opinion, activeness, weakness, or wilfulness, and what they call Obstinacy in Me (which not true Judgement of things, but some vehement prejudice or passion hath fixed on My minde;) yet can no man think it other then the Badge and Method of Slavery, by savage rudeness,

ness, and importunate detractions of violence, to have the mist of His Error and Passion dispelled, which is a shadow of Reason, and must serve those that are destitute of the substance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or Man, who seriously endeavors to see the best reason of things, and faithfully follows what he takes for Reason: The uprightness of his intentions will excuse the possible failings of his understanding; If a Pilot at Sea cannot see the Pole-star, it can be no fault in him to steer his course by such stars as do best appear to him. It argues rather those men to be conscious of their defects of Reason, and convincing Arguments, who call in the assistance of meer force to carry on the weakness of their Councils, and Proposals. I may, in the truth and uprightness of My heart, protest before God and Men, that I never wilfully opposed, or denyed any thing, that was in a fair way, after full and free debates propounded to Me, by the two Houses, further then I thought in good Reason I might, and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever please Me more, then when My judgment so concurred with theirs, that I might with good Conscience consent to them: yea, in many things where not absolute and moral necessity of Reason, but temporary convenience on point of Honor was to be considered, I chose rather to deny My self, then them; as preferring that which they thought necessary for My peoples good, before what I saw but convenient for My self.

D

For

For I can be content to recede much from My own Interests, and Personal Rights, of which I conceive My self to be Master; but in what concerns Truth, Justice, the Rights of the Church, and My Crown, together with the general good of My Kingdoms; (all which I am bound to preserve as much as morally lies in Me;) here I am, and ever shall be fixt and resolute, nor shall any man gain My consent to that, wherein My Heart gives My tongue or hand the Lye; nor will I be brought to affirm that to Men, which in My Conscience I denyed before God. I will rather chuse to wear a Crown of Thorns with My Savior, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to Me) for one of Lead, whose embased flexibility shall be forced to bend, and comply to the various, and oft contrary dictates of any Factions; when instead of Reason, and Publique concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the interest of parties, and flows from the partialities of private Wills and Passions.

I know no resolutions more worthy a Christian King, then to prefer His Conscience before His Kingdoms.

O my God, preserve thy servant in this Native, Rational and Religious freedom; For this I believe is thy will, that we should maintain: who, though thou dost justly require us, to submit our understandings and wills to thine; whose wisdom and goodness can neither erre, nor misguide us,
and

and so far to deny our carnal reason, in order to thy sacred Mysteries, and commands, that we should believe and obey rather than dispute them; yet dost thou expect from us, onely such a reasonable service of thee, as not to do any thing for thee, against our consciences, and as to the desires of men, enjoynest us to try all things by the touchstone of Reason and Laws, which are the rules of Civil Justice; and to declare our consents to that onely which our Judgements approve.

Thou knowest, O Lord, how unwilling I was to desert that place, in which thou hast set me, and whereto the affairs of my Kingdoms at present did call me.

My people can witness how far I have been content for their good, to deny my self, in what thou hast subjected to my disposal.

O Let not the unthankful importunities, and tumultuary violence of some mens Immoderate demands, ever betray me to that degenerate and unmanly slavery, which should make me strengthen them by my consent in those things which I think in my conscience to be against thy glory, the good of my subjects, and the discharge of my own duty to Reason and Justice.

Make me willing to suffer the greatest indignities, and injuries they press upon me, rather then commit the least sin against my conscience.

Let the just liberties of my people be (as well they may) preserved in fair, and equal ways, without the slavery of my soul.

Thou that hast invested me by thy favors, in the power of a Christian King, suffer me not to subject my reason to other mens passions, and designs, which to me seem unreasonable, unjust, and irreligious: So shall I serve thee in the truth and uprightness of my heart, though I cannot satisfy these men.

Though I be driven from among them, yet give me grace to walk always uprightly before thee.

Lead me in the way of Truth and Justice, for these, I know, will bring me at last to peace and happiness with thee; though for these I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for my Saviours sake.

VII. *Upon the queens departure, and absence out of England.*

ALthough I have much cause to be troubled at My Wifes departure from Me, and out of My Dominions; yet not Her absence, so much, as the scandal of that necessity, which drives Her away, doth afflict Me. That She should be compelled by My own Subjects, and those pretending to be Protestants, to withdraw for Her safety: This being the first example of any Protestant Subjects, that have taken up Arms against their King, a Protestant: For I look upon this now done in England, as another Act of the same Tragedy which was lately begun in Scotland; the brands of that fire being
ill

ill quenched, have kindled the like flames here. I fear such motions (so little to the adorning of the Protestant profession) may occasion a farther alienation of minde, and divorce of affections in Her, from that Religion, which is the onely thing wherein we differ.

Which yet God can, and I pray he would in time take away; and not suffer these practises to be any obstruction to Her judgement; since it is the motion of those men, (for the most part) who are yet to seek and settle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good Maners, and so not to be imputed to the true English Protestants; who continue firm to their former settled Principles and Laws.

I am sorry My relation to so deserving a Lady, should be any occasion of Her danger and affliction; whose merits would have served Her for a protection among the savage *Indians*; while their rudeness and barbarity knows not so perfectly to hate all Vertues, as some mens subtilty doth; among whom I yet think few are so malicious as to hate Her for Her self. The fault is, that She is My Wife.

All justice then as well as affection commands Me, to study Her Security, who is onely in danger for My sake; I am content to be tossed, weather-beaten, and shipwrackt, so as She may be in safe Harbor.

This comfort I shall enjoy by Her safety in the midst of My Personal dangers, that I can perish

but half, if She be preserved : In whose memory, and hopeful Posterity, I may yet survive the malice of My enemies, although they should be satiated with My blood.

I must leave Her, and them, to the Love and Loyalty of My good Subjects; and to his protection, who is able to punish the faults of Princes, and no less severely to revenge the injuries done to Them, by those who in all duty and Allegiance, ought to have made good that safety, which the Laws chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civility is in vain expected from those, that dispute their Loyalty : Nor can it be safe (for any relation) to a King, to tarry among them who are shaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faster hold on their Religion.

'Tis pity so noble and peaceful a soul should see, much more suffer, the rudeness of those who must make up their want of justice, with inhumanity, and impudence.

Her sympathy with Me in My afflictions, will make Her vertues shine with greater lustre, as stars in the darkest nights : and assure the envious world, that She loves Me, not My fortunes.

Neither of us but can easily forgive, since We do not much blame the unkindness of the Generality, and Vulgar, for we see God is pleased to try both our patience, by the most self-punishing sin, the Ingratitude of those, who having eaten of Our bread, and being enriched with Our bounty,

bounty, have scornfully lift up themselves against Us; and those of Our own Household are become Our enemies. I pray God lay not their sin to their charge; who think to satisfie all obligations to duty, by their Corban of Religion: and can less endure to see, then to sin against their benefactors as well as their Sovereigns.

But even that policy of My enemies is so far venial, as it was necessary to their designs, by scandalous articles, and all irreverent demeanor, to seek to drive her out of My Kingdoms; left by the influence of her example, eminent for love as a Wife, and Loyalty, as a Subject, she should have converted to, or retained in their love, and Loyalty, all those whom they had a purpose to pervert.

The less I may be blest with her company, the more I will retire to God, and My own Heart, whence no malice can banish Her. My enemies may envy, but they can never deprive Me of the enjoyment of her vertues, while I enjoy My self.

Thou, O Lord, whose Justice at present sees fit to scatter us, let thy Mercy, in thy due time, reunite us, on earth, if it be thy will; however, bring us both at last, to thy heavenly Kingdom.

Preserve us from the hands of our despiteful and deadly enemies; and prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.

Though we differ in some things, as to Religion, (which is my greatest temporal infelicity) yet Lord

give, and accept the sincerity of our affections,
which desire to seek, to finde, to embrace every
truth of thine.

Let both our hearts agree in the love of thy
self, and Christ crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou wouldst have us to
know, in order to thy glory, our publique relations,
and our souls eternal good, and make us careful to
do what good we know.

Let neither ignorance of what is necessary to be
known, nor unbelief, or disobedience to what we
know, be our misery or our wilful default.

Let not this great Scandal of those my Subjects,
which profess the same Religion with me, be any
hindrance to her love of any truth thou wouldst
have her to learn, nor any hardning of her, in any
error thou wouldst have cleared to her.

Let mine, and other mens constancy, be an Anti-
dote against the poyson of their example.

Let the truth of that Religion I profess, be repre-
sented to her judgement, with all the beauties of
humility, loyalty, charity, and peaceableness:
which are the proper fruits, and ornaments of it:
Not in the odious disguises of levity, schism, he-
resie, novelty, cruelty, and disloyalty, which some
mens practises have lately put upon it.

Let her see thy sacred and saving truths, as
thine, that she may believe, love and obey them as
thine, cleared from all rust and dross of humane
mixtures.

That in the glass of thy truth she may see thee,

in those mercies which thou hast offered to us, in thy Son Jesus Christ, our onely Saviour, and serve thee in all those holy duties, which most agree with his holy doctrine, and most imitable example.

The experience we have of the vanity, and uncertainty of all humane glory, and greatness in our scatterings and eclipses, let it make us both so much the more ambitious to be invested in those durable honors, and perfections, which are only to be found in thy self, and obtained through Jesus Christ.

VIII. Upon His Majesties repulse at Hull, and the fates of the Hothams.

MY repulse at *Hull* seemed at the first view an act of so rude disloyalty, that My greatest enemies had scarce confidence enough to abet, or own it: It was the first overt Essay to be made, how patiently I could bear the Loss of My Kingdoms.

God knows, it affected Me more with shame and sorrow for others, then with anger for My self: nor did the affront done to Me trouble Me so much as their sin, which admitted no colour or excuse.

I was resolved how to bear this, and much more, with patience: But I foresaw they could hardly contain themselves within the compass of this one unworthy act, who had effrontery enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was soon after
to

to overspread the whole Kingdom, and cast all into disorder and darkness.

For tis among the wicked Maxims of bold and disloyal undertakers, That bad actions must always be seconded with worse, and rather not be begun, then not carried on : for they think the retreat more dangerous then the assault, and hate repentance more then perseverance in a Fault.

This gave Me to see clearly through all the pious disguises, and soft palliations of some men : whose words were sometime smother then oyl, but now I saw they would prove very Swords.

Against which I having (as yet) no defence, but that of a good Conscience, thought it My best policy (with patience) to bear what I could not remedy : And in this (I thank God) I had the better of *Hotham*, that no disdain, or emotion of passion transported Me, by the indignity of his carriage, to do or say any thing, unbecoming My self, or unsutable to that temper, which, in greatest injuries, I think, best becomes a Christian, as coming nearest to the great example of Christ.

And indeed, I desire always more to remember I am a Christian, then a King : for what the Majesty of one might justly abhor, the Charity of the other is willing to bear : what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humility of a Christian teacheth to forgive. Keeping in compass all those impotent passions, whose excess injures a man, more then his greatest enemies can :
for

for these give their malice a full impression on our souls, which otherways cannot reach very far, nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but observe how God not long after so pleaded, and avenged My cause, in the eye of the world, that the most wilfully blinde cannot avoid the displeasure to see it, and with some remorse and fear to own it as a notable stroke, and prediction of divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham* unreproached, unthreatened, uncursed by any language or secret imprecation of Mine, onely blasted with the conscience of his own wickedness, and falling from one inconstancy to another, not long after pays his own and his eldest Sons heads, as forfeitures of their disloyalty, to those men, from whom surely he might have expected another reward, then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whose hearts with them were divided from their KING.

Nor is it strange, that they who imployed them at first in so high a service, and so successful to them, should not finde mercy enough to forgive Him, who had so much premerited of them: For, Apostacy unto Loyalty some men account the most unpardonable sin.

Nor did a solitary vengeance serve the turn, the cutting off one head in a Family, is not enough to expiate the affront done to the head of the Common-weal. The eldest Son must be involved in the punishment, as he was infected with the sin of the Father, against the Father of his Countrey;

try;

try: Root and Branch God cuts off in one day. These observations are obvious to every fancy: God knows, I was so far from rejoicing in the *Hotham's* ruine, (though it were such as was able to give the greatest thirst for revenge a full draught, being executed by them who first employed him against Me) that I so far pitied him, as I thought he at first acted more against the light of his Conscience, then I hope many other men do in the same Cause.

For, he was never thought to be of that superstitious sowness, which some men pretend to, in matters of Religion: which so darkens their judgement, that they cannot see any thing of Sin and Rebellion in those means, they use, with intents to reform to their Models, of what they call Religion, who think all is gold of piety, which doth but glister with a shew of Zeal and fervency.

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think) a man of another temper, and so most liable to those downright temptations of ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of Religion to impose upon themselves or others.

That which makes Me more pity him is, that after he began to have some inclinations towards a repentance for his sin, and reparation of his duty to Me, He should be so unhappy as to fall into the hands of their Justice, and not My Mercy, who could as willingly have forgiven him, as he could have asked that favor of Me.

For I think clemency a debt, which we ought to pay to those that crave it, when we have cause to believe they would not after abuse it, since God himself suffers us not to pay any thing for his mercy, but onely prayers and praises.

Poor Gentleman, he is now become a notable monument of unprosperous disloyalty, teaching the world by so sad and unfortunate a spectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Sovereign, carries always its own vengeance, as an unseparable shadow with it; and those oft prove the most fatal, and implacable Executioners of it, who were the first Employers in the service.

After-times will dispute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-hill*: though 'tis certain that no punishment so stains a mans Honor, as wilful preparations of unworthy actions: which besides the conscience of the sin, brands with most indelible characters of infamy, the name and memory to posterity, who not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the most impartial reflections on the actions.

But thou, O Lord, who hast in so remarkable a way avenged thy Servant, suffer me not to take any secret pleasure in it, for his death hath satisfied the injury he did to me: so let me not by it gratifie any passion in me, lest I make thy vengeance to be mine, and consider the affront against me, more than the sin against thee.

Thou

try: Root and Branch God cuts off in one day.
 VI These observations are obvious to every fancy: God knows, I was so far from rejoycing in the *Hotham's* ruine, (though it were such as was able to give the greatest thirst for revenge a full draught, being executed by them who first employed him against Me) that I so far pitied him, as I thought he at first acted more against the light of his Conscience, then I hope many other men do in the same Cause.

For, he was never thought to be of that superstitious sowness, which some men pretend to, in matters of Religion: which so darkens their judgement, that they cannot see any thing of Sin and Rebellion in those means, they use, with intents to reform to their Models, of what they call Religion, who think all is gold of piety, which doth but glister with a shew of Zeal and fervency.

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Thou

44
Thou indeed, without any desire or endeavor of mine, hast made his mischief to return on his own head; and his violent dealing to come down on his own pate.

Thou hast pleaded my cause, even before the sons of men, and taken the matter into thine own hands: that men may know it was thy work, and see that thou, Lord, hast done it.

I do not, I dare not say, so let mine enemies perish O Lord! yea Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunity, if it be thy blessed will.

Let not thy justice prevent the objects and opportunities of my mercy: yea, let them live and amend who have most offended me in so high a nature; that I may have those to forgive, who bear most proportion in their offences to those trespasses against thy majesty, which I hope thy mercy hath forgiven me.

Lord lay not their sins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their consciences for amendment: Let the lighting of this thunderbolt, which hath been so severe a punishment to one, be a terror to all.

Discover to them their sin, who know not they have done amiss, and scare them from their sin, that sin of malicious wickedness.

That preventing thy judgements by their true repentance, they may escape the strokes of thine eternal vengeance.

And do thou, O Lord, establish the Throne of thy servant in mercy and truth, meeting together:

gether: Let my Crown ever flourish in righteousness and peace, kissing each other.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, who hast taught us to pray for, to do good to, and to love our enemies; for thy sake; who hast prevented us with offer-
tures of thy love, even when we were thine enemies, and hast sent thy Son Jesus Christ to dye for us, when we were disposed to crucifie him.

IX. Upon the Lifting, and Raising Armies against the KING.

I Finde that I am at the same point and posture I was, when they forced Me to leave Whitehall: what Tumults could not do, an Army must; which is but Tumults lifted, and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: My recess hath given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And so I easily may, as to any outward strength, which, God knows, is little or none at all: But I have a Soul invincible through Gods grace enabling Me; here I am sure to be Conqueror, if God will give Me such a measure of Constancy, as to fear him more than man: and to love the inward peace of My Conscience, before any outward tranquility.

And must I be opposed with force, because they have not reason wherewith to convince Me? O My Soul! be of good courage, they confess their known weakness, as to Truth and Justice, who

who chose rather to contend by Armies, than by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for those many Acts of Grace I have lately passed, and for those many Indignities I have endured? Is there no way left to make Me a glorious KING, but by My Sufferings?

It is a hard and disputable choyce for a King, that loves his People, and desires their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miseries of Civil War in the bowels of My most flourishing Kingdom, the fruits I must now reap after Seventeen years living and Reigning among them, with such a measure of Justice, Peace, Plenty, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired or envied? notwithstanding some miscarriages in Government, which might escape; rather through ill counsel of some men driving on their private ends, or the peevishness of others, envying the Publique should be managed without them, or the hidden and insuperable necessities of State, then any propensity, I hope, of My self either to injuriousness or oppression.

Whose innocent blood during My Reign have I shed, to satisfy My Lust, Anger, or Covetousness? What Widows or Orphans tears can witness against Me; the just cry of which must now be avenged with My own blood? For the hazards of War are equal, nor doth the Canon know any respect of Persons.

In

In vain is My Person excepted by a Parenthesis
of Words, when so many hands are armed against
Me with Swords.

God knows how much I have studied, to see
what Ground of Justice is alledged for this War
against Me; that so I might (by giving just sa-
tisfaction) either prevent, or soon end so unna-
tural a motion: which (to many men) seems ra-
ther the productions of a surfeit of peace, and
wantonness of mindes, or of private discontents,
Ambition and Faction (which easily finde, or
make causes of quarrel) then any real obstru-
ctions of publique Justice, or Parliamentary
Priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I must be able to
avoid and answer before God in My own Con-
science, however some men are not willing to be-
lieve Me, lest they should condemn themselves.

When I first withdrew from *Whitehall*, to see
if I could allay the Insolency of the Tumults,
(the not suppressing of which, no account in
Reason can be given, (where an orderly
Guard was granted) but onely to oppress both
Mine and the Two Houses freedom of declaring
and voting according to every mans Consci-
ence) what obstructions of Justice were there
further then this, That what seemed just to one
man, might not seem so to another?

Whom did I by power protect against the Ju-
stice of Parliament?

That some men withdrew, who feared the
E partiality

parability of their trial; (warned by My Lord of *Strafford's* death) while the vulgar threatened to be their Oppressors, and Judges of their Judges, was from that instinct, which is in all creatures to preserve themselves. If any others refused to appear, where they evidently saw the current of Justice and Freedom so stopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawful Judges either durst not come to the Houses, or not declare their sense with liberty and safety, it cannot seem strange to any reasonable man, when the sole exposing them to publique *odium* was enough to ruine them, before their Cause could be heard or tried.

Had not factious Tumults overborn the Freedom and Honor of the two Houses; had they asserted their Justice against them, and made the way open for all the Members quietly to come and declare their Consciences: I know no man so dear to Me, whom I had the least inclination to advise either to withdraw himself, or deny appearing upon their Summons, to whose Sentence according to Law (I think) every Subject bound to stand.

Distempers (indeed) were risen to so great a height, for want of timely repressing the vulgar insolencies, that the greatest guilt of those which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not suffer themselves to be over-aw'd with the Tumults, and their Patrons; nor compelled to abet by their suffrages,

or

of presence: the designs of those men who agitated Innovations; and ruining both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous constancy and cautiousness; further than this I did never allow any mans refractoriness against the Priviledges and Orders of the Houses; to whom I wished nothing more, than Safety, Fulness, and Freedom.

But the truth is, some men, and those not many, despairing in fair and Parliamentary ways, by free deliberations and Votes, to gain the concurrence of the major part of Lords and Commons, betook themselves (by the desperate activity of factious Tumults) to sift and terrifie away all those Members whom they saw to be of contrary mindes to their purposes.

How oft was the business of the Bishops enjoying their Ancient places, and undoubted Priviledges in the House of Peers, carried for them by far the major part of Lords? Yet after five repulses, contrary to all Order and Custom, it was by tumultuary instigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when most of the Peers were forced to absent themselves.

In like maner, as the Bill against Root and Branch, brought on by tumultuary Clamors, and schismatical Terrors, which could never pass, till both Houses were sufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To which Partiality, while in all Reason, Ju-

stice and Religion, My conscience forbids Me by consenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament; I must now be urged with an Army, and constrained either to hazard My own, and My Kingdoms ruine, by My Defence; or prostrate My Conscience to the blinde obedience of those men, whose zealous superstition thinks, or pretends, they cannot do God and the Church a greater service, than utterly to destroy that Primitive, Apostolical, and anciently Universal Government of the Church, by Bishops.

Which if other mens judgements binde them to maintain, or forbids them to consent to the abolishing of it, Mine much more; who, besides the grounds I have in My judgement, have also a most strict and indispensable Oath upon My Conscience, to preserve that Order, and the Rights of the Church; to which, most Sacrilegious and abhorred Perjury, most unbeseeming a Christian King, should I ever by giving My Consent be betrayed, I should account it infinitely greater misery, then any hath, or can befall Me; in as much as the least sin hath more evil in it, then the greatest affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-episcopal Faction at first in this point, with My Consent, and sacrificed the Ecclesiastical Government, and Revenues, to the fury of their covetousness, ambition, and revenge, I believe they would then have found no colourable necessity of raising an Army to fetch in, and punish Delinquents.

That

That I consented to the Bill of putting the Bishops out of the House of Peers, was done with a firm perswasion of their contentedness to suffer a present diminution in their Rights and Honor for My sake, and the Common-weals, which I was confident they would readily yield unto, rather then occasion (by the least obstruction on their part) any dangers to Me, or to My Kingdom. That I cannot add My consent for the total extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath so much further tie upon My Conscience, as what I think Religious and Apostolical; and so very Sacred and Divine, is not to be dispensed with, or destroyed, when what is onely of civil Favor, and priviledge of Honor granted to men of that Order, may with their consent, who are concerned in it, be annulled.

This is the true state of those obstructions pretended to be in point of Justice and Authority of Parliament; when I call God to witness, I knew none of such consequence as was worth speaking of a War, being onely such as Justice, Reason, and Religion had made in My own and other mens Consciences.

Afterwards indeed a great shew of Delinquents was made; which were but consequences necessarily following upon Mine, or others withdrawing from, or defence against violence: but those could not be the first occasion of raising an Army against Me. Wherein I was so far from

preventing them, (as they have declared often, that they might seem to have the advantage and Justice of the defensive part, and load Me with all the envy and injuries of first assaulting them) that God knows, I had not so much as any hopes of an Army in My thoughts. Had the Tumults been Honorably and Effectually repressed by exemplary Justice, and the liberty of the Houses so vindicated, that all Members of either House might with Honor and Freedom, becoming such a Senate, have come and discharged their Consciences, I had obtained all that I designed by My withdrawing, and had much more willingly, and speedily returned then I retired, this being My necessity driving, the other My choyce desiring.

But some men know, I was like to bring the same judgement and constancy, which I carried with Me, which would never fit their designs: and so while they invited Me to come, and grievously complained of My absence, yet they could not but be pleased with it: especially when they had found out that plausible and popular pretext, of raising an Army to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never punished the greatest and most intolerable Delinquency of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drave My self, and so many of both Houses from their places, by most barbarous indignities, which yet in all Reason and Honor, they were as loath to have deserted, as those others were willing they should,

should, that so they might have occasion to persecute them with the injuries of an Army, for not suffering more tamely the injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true state, and first drift and design in raising an Army against Me, is by the sequel so evident, that all other pretences vanish. For when they declared by Propositions, or Treaties, what they would have to appease them; there was nothing of consequence offered to Me, or demanded of Me; as any original difference in any point of Law, or order of Justice. But among other lesser Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Episcopal, and the Establishment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things at any time propounded were either impertinent as to any ground of a War, or easily granted by Me, and only to make up a number; or else they were merely consequential, and accessory, after the War was by them unjustly begun.

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, whom the noise and shew of piety, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might easily so fill with prejudice, that all equality and clearness of judgement might be obstructed. But this was, and is, as to My best observation, the true state of affairs between us, when they first raised an Army, with this design, either to stop My mouth, or to force My consent: and in this truth, as to My conscience, (who was (God knows) as far

from meditating a War, as I was in the eye of the world from having any preparation for one) I finde that comfort, that in the midst of all the unfortunate successes of this War, on My side, I do not think My Innocency any whit prejudiced or darkned; Nor am I without that Integrity, and Peace before God, as with humble confidence to address My Prayer to him.

For thou, O Lord, seest clearly through all the cloudings of humane affairs; Thou judgest without prejudice: Thy Omniscience eternally guides thy unerrable Judgement.

O my God, the proud are risen against me, and the assemblies of violent men have sought after my soul, and have not set Thee before their eyes.

Consider my enemies, O Lord, for they are many, and they hate me with a deadly hatred without a cause.

For Thou knowest, I had no passion, design or preparation to embroyl my Kingdoms in a Civil War; whereto I had least temptation; as knowing I must adventure more then any, and could gain least of any by it.

Thou, O Lord, art my witness how oft I have deplored, and studied to divert the necessity thereof, wherein I cannot well be thought so prodigally thirsty of my Subjects blood, as to venture my own life, which I have been oft compelled to do in this unhappy War; and which were better spent to save, then to destroy my People,

O Lord,

O Lord, I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou hast suffered some men to bring upon me: but much more to bear the unjust reproaches of those, who not content that I suffer most by the War, will needs persuade the world that I have raised first, or given just cause to raise it.

The confidence of some mens false tongues is such, that they would make me almost suspect my own innocency: Yea, I could be content (at least by my silence) to take upon me so great a guilt before men, if by that I might allay the malice of my Enemies, and redeem my People from this miserable War; since thou, O Lord, knowest my Innocency in this thing.

Thou wilt finde out bloody and deceitful men; many of whom have not lived out half their days, in which they promised themselves the enjoyment of the fruits of their violent and wicked Counsels.

Save, O Lord, thy servant, as hitherto thou hast, and in thy due time scatter the people that delight in War.

Arise, O Lord, lift up thy self, because of the rage of mine Enemies, which encreaseih more and more: Behold them that have conceived mischief, travelled with iniquity, and brought forth falsehood.

Thou knowest the chief design of this War is, either to destroy my Person, or force my Judgement, and to make me renege my Conscience and thy Truth.

I am

And driven to grief Davids choyce and desire,
 rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying
 them, (though their mercies be cruel) than into
 thy hands, by sinning against my Conscience, and
 in that against thee, who art a consuming fire,
 better they destroy me, then thou shouldst damn me.

Be thou ever the defence of my soul, who wilt
 save the upright in heart. I do stand before thee
 and find nothing but my blood will satisfie my En-
 mies, or quench the flames of my Kingdoms, or
 thy temporal Justice, I am content, if it be thy
 will, that it be shed by mine own Subjects hands.
 But O let the blood of me, though their King,
 yet a sinner, be washed with the Blood of my in-
 nocent and peace-making Redeemer, for in that
 thy Justice will finde not only a temporary expia-
 tion, but an eternal plenary satisfaction, both for
 my sins, and the sins of my People; whom I beseech
 thee still own for thine, and when thy wrath is
 appeased by my Death, O remember thy great mer-
 cies toward them, and forgive them, O my Fa-
 ther: for they know not what they do.

X. Upon their seizing the Kings Magazines,
 Forts, Navy, and Militia.

How untruly I am charged with the first
 raising of an Army, and beginning this
 Civil War, the eyes that onely pity Me,
 and the Loyal hearts that durst onely pray for
 Me, at first, might witness, which yet appear not
 so

so many on My side, as there were men in Arms
list'd against Me; My unpreparedness for a War
may well dishearten those that would help Me;
while it argues (truly) My unwillingness to fight,
yet it testifies for Me; that I am set on the defen-
sive part; having so little hopes or power to of-
fend others, that I have none to defend Myself,
or to preserve what is Mine own from their pro-
reption.

No man can doubt but they prevented Me in
their purposes, as well as their injuries, who are
so much before hand in their preparations against
Me, and surprisals of My strength. Such as are
not for Them, yet dare not be for Me; so over-
law'd is their Loyalty by the others Numbers
and Terrors. I believe My Innocency, and un-
preparedness to assert My Rights and Honor,
makes Me the more guilty in their esteem; who
would not so easily have declared a War against
Me, if I had first assaulted them.

They knew My chiefest Arms left Me, were
those onely, which the ancient Christians were
wont to use against their Persecutors, Prayers
and Tears. These may serve a good mans turn,
if not to Conquer as a Soldier, yet to Suffer as
a Martyr.

Their preventing of Me, and surprizing My
Castles, Forts, Arms and Navy, with the Mili-
tia, is so far best for Me, that it may drive Me
from putting any trust in the arm of flesh, and
wholly to cast My self into the protection of the
living

living God, who can save by few, or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedy Ravens to be *Elias* Caterers, and bring him food, may also make their surprisal of outward force and defence, an opportunity to shew Me the special support of his Power and Protection.

I thank God I reckon not now the want of the Militia, so much in reference to My own protection, as My Peoples.

Their many and sore oppressions grieve Me, I am above My own; what I want in the hands of Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Prayer.

But this is the strange method these men will needs take, to resolve their Riddle of making Me a glorious King, by taking away My Kingly Power: Thus I shall become a Support to My Friends, and a Terror to My Enemies, by being unable to Succor the one, or Suppress the other.

For thus have they designed, and proposed to Me, the new modelling of Sovereignty and Kingship, as without any reality of power, or without any necessity of subjection and obedience: That the Majesty of the Kings of *England*, might hereafter hang, like *Mahomets* Tomb, by a magnetique Charm, between the Power and Priviledges of the two Houses, in an airy imagination of Regality.

But I believe the surfeit of too much Power, which some men have greedily seized on, and

now seek wholly to devour, will ere long make the Common-wealth sick both of it and them, since they cannot well digest it; Sovereign Power in Subjects, seldom agreeing with the stomachs of fellow Subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the constant Militia, sought, by satisfying their fears, and importunities, both to secure My Friends, and overcome Mine Enemies, to gain the peace of all, by depriving My self of a sole power to help, or hurt any : yielding the Militia (which is My undoubted Right no less than the Crown) to be disposed of as the two Houses shall think fit, during My time.

So willing am I to bury all Jealousies in them, of Me, and to live above all Jealousies of them, as to My self ; I desire not to be safer than I wish them and My People : If I had the sole actual disposing of the Militia, I could not protect My People, further than they protected Me, and themselves : so that the use of the Militia is mutual. I would but defend My self so far, as to be able to defend My good Subjects from those mens violence and fraud, who conscious to their own evil merits and designs, will needs perswade the world, That none but Wolves are fit to be trusted with the custody of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miserable experience hath taught My Subjects, since Power hath been wrested from Me, and imployed against Me and Them ! that neither can be safe, if both be not in such a

• way,

way, as the Law hath entrusted the publique safety and welfare.

Yet even this Concession of Mine, as to the exercise of the Militia, so vast and large, is not satisfactory to some men; which seem to be Enemies not to Me onely, but to all Monarchy; and are resolved to transmit to Posterity, such Jealousies of the Crown, as they should never permit it to enjoy its just and necessary Rights, in point of Power; to which (at last) all Law is resolved; while thereby it is best protected.

But here Honor and Justice due to My Successors, forbid Me to yield to such a total alienation of that Power from them, which civility and duty (no less then Justice and Honor) should have forbade them to have asked of Me.

For, although I can be content to Eclipse My own beams, to satisfie their fears; who think they must needs be scorched or blinded, if I should shine in the full lustre of Kingly Power, wherewith God and the Laws have invested Me: yet I will never consent to put out the Sun of Sovereignty to all Posterity, and succeeding Kings: whose just recovery of their Rights from unjust usurpations and extortions, shall never be prejudiced or obstructed by any Act of Mine, which indeed would not be more injurious to succeeding Kings, than to My Subjects; whom I desire to leave in a condition not wholly desperate for the future; so as by a Law to be ever subjected to those many factious distractions,

ons; which must needs follow the many-headed
Hydra of Government: which, as it makes a shew
to the People to have more eyes to foresee, so
they will find it hath more mouths too; which
must be satisfied; and (at best) it hath rather a
monstrosity, than any thing of perfection; be-
yond that of right Monarchy; where Councel
may be in many as the Senses; but the Supreme
Power can be but in One as the Head. *Uw doidw*
Happily where men have tried the horrors and
malignant influence which will certainly follow
My enforced darkness and Eclipse (occasioned
by the interposition and shadow of that body;
which as the Moon receiveth its chiefest light
from Me) they will at length more esteem and
welcom the restored glory and blessing of the
Suns light. *Uw doidw*

And if at present I may seem by My receding
so much from the use of My Right in the Power
of the *Militia*, to come short of the discharge of
that trust to which I am sworn for My Peoples
protection; I conceive those men are guilty of
the enforced perjury, (if so it may seem) who
compel Me to take this new and strange way of
discharging My trust, by seeming to desert it; of
protecting My Subjects, by exposing My self to
danger or dishonor, for their safety and quiet.

Which in the conflicts of Civil War, and ad-
vantages of Power, cannot be effected but by
some side yielding; to which the greatest love of
the publique Peace, and the firmest assurance
of

of Gods protection (arising from a good conscience) doth more invite Me, than can be expected from other mens fears, which arising from the injustice of their actions (though never so successful) yet dare not adventure their Authors upon any other way of safety then that of the Sword and Militia; which yet are but weak defences against the strokes of divine vengeance, which will overtake; or of mens own Consciences, which always attend injurious perpetrations.

For My self, I do not think that I can want any thing which providential necessity is pleased to take from Me, in order to My Peoples tranquillity and Gods glory, whose protection is sufficient for Me; and he is able, by his being with Me, abundantly to compensate to Me, as he did to *Job*, what ever honor, power, or liberty the *Caldeans*, the *Sabeans*, or the Devil himself can deprive Me of.

Although they take from Me all defence of Arms and Militia, all refuge by land, of Forts, and Castles, all flight by Sea in My Ships, and Navy; yea, though they study to rob Me of the Hearts of My Subjects, the greatest Treasure and best ammunition of a King, yet cannot they deprive Me of My own innocency, or Gods mercy, nor obstruct My way to Heaven.

Therefore, O my God, to thee I flie for help, if thou wilt be on my side, I shall have more with me then can be against me.

There

There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I desire in comparison of thee : In the loss of all, be thou more than all to me : Make haste to succor me, thou that never failest them that put their trust in thee.

Thou seest I have no power to oppose them that come against me, who are encouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for me : But my eyes are toward thee.

Thou needest no help, nor shall I, if I may have thine ; If not to conquer, yet at least to suffer.

If thou delightest not in my safety, and prosperity, behold here I am willing to be reduced to what thou wilt have me ; whose Judgements oft begin with thy own Children.

I am content to be nothing, that thou mayst be all.

Thou hast taught me, That no King can be saved by the multitude of an Host, but yet thou canst save me by the multitude of thy mercies, who art the Lord of Hosts, and the Father of mercies.

Help me, O Lord, who am sore distressed on every side, yet be thou on my side, and I shall not fear what man can do unto me.

I will give thy Justice the glory of my distress.

O let thy mercy have the glory of my deliverance from them that persecute my Soul !

By my sins have I fought against thee, and robbed thee of thy glory, who am thy subject, and justly mayst thou, by my own Subjects, strip me of my strength, and eclipse my glory.

*But shew thy self, O my hope, and onely refuge!
Let not mine enemies say, There is no help for
him in his God.*

*Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my foot-
steps slip not.*

*Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me un-
der the shadow of thy wings.*

*Shew thy marvellous loving kindeness, O thou
that savest by thy right hand them that put their
trust in thee, from those that rise up against them.*

*From the wicked that oppress me, from my
deadly enemies that compass me about.*

*Shew me the path of life. In thy presence is ful-
ness of joy, at thy right hand there are pleasures
for evermore.*

*XI. Upon the Nineteen Propositions first sent to
the KING; and more afterwards.*

ALthough there be many things they de-
mand, yet if these be all, I am glad to see
at what price they set My own safety, and
My Peoples peace; which I cannot think I buy
at too dear a rate, save onely the parting with My
Conscience and Honor. If nothing else will satisfie,
I must chuse rather to be as miserable, and in-
glorious, as My enemies can make or wish Me.

Some things here propounded to Me have
been offered by Me; Others are easily granted;
The rest (I think) ought not to be obtruded up-
on Me, with the point of the Sword; nor urged
with

with the injuries of a War; when I have already declared that I cannot yield to them, without violating My Conscience: 'tis strange, there can be no method of peace, but by making war upon My soul.

Here are many things required of Me, but I see nothing offer'd to Me, by the way of grateful exchange of Honor; or any requital for those favors, I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honor they do Me, to put Me on the giving part, which is more princely and divine. They cannot ask more than I can give, may I but reserve to My self the Incommunicable Jewel of My Conscience; and not be forced to part with that, whose loss nothing can repair or requite.

Some things (which they are pleased to propound) seem unreasonable to Me, and while I have any Mastery of My Reason, how can they think I can consent to them? Who know they are such as are inconsistent with being either a King, or a good Christian. My yielding so much (as I have already) makes some men confident I will deny nothing.

The love I have of My Peoples peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon Me; but the love of Truth and inward peace hath more.

Should I grant some things they require, I should not so much weaken My outward state of a King; as wound that inward quiet of My Conscience, which ought to be, is, and ever shall be

(by Gods grace) dearer to Me then My Kingdoms.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honor and Policy are at some time to be denied, to some men, lest he should seem not to dare to deny any thing; and give too much encouragement to unreasonable demands, or importunities.

But to binde My self to a general and implicate consent, to what ever they shall desire, or propound, (for such is one of their Propositions) were such a latitude of blinde obedience, as never was expected from any Free-man, nor fit to be required of any man, much less of a King, by His own Subjects; any of whom he may possibly exceed as much in wisdom, as he doth in place and power.

This were, as if *Sampson* should have consented, not onely to binde his own hands, and cut off his hair, but to put out his own eyes, that the *Philistines* might with the more safety mock and abuse him; which they chose rather to do, then quite to destroy him, when he was become so tame an object, and fit occasion for their sport and scorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of denial, seems an arrogancy, least of all becoming those who pretend to make their Addresses in an humble and loyal way of petitioning; who by that sufficiently confess their own inferiority, which obligeth them to rest, if not satisfied, yet quieted with

with such an answer as the will and reason of their Superior thinks fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedom and power of Reason, to Consent, or Dissent, else it were very foolish and absurd to ask, what another having not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be My Right belonging to Me, in Reason as a Man, and in Honor as a Sovereign King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other then extream injury to confine My Reason to a necessity of granting all they have a minde to ask, whose mindes may be as differing from Mine both in Reason and Honor, as their aims may be, and their qualities are? which last, God and the Laws have sufficiently distinguished, making Me their Sovereign, and them My Subjects: whose Propositions may soon prove violent Oppositions, if once they gain to be necessary Impositions upon the Regal Authority. Since no man seeks to limit and confine his King, in Reason, who hath not a secret aim to share with him, or usurp upon him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have Me trust to their moderation, and abandon Mine own discretion; that so I might verifie what representations some have made of Me to the world, that I am fitter to be their Pupil then their Prince. Truly I am not so confident of My own sufficiency, as not willingly to admit the Counsel of others: But yet I am not so diffident of My self, as brutishly to submit to any mens dictates, and at once to betray the So-

veraignty of Reason in My Soul, and the Majesty of My own Crown to any of My Subjects.

Least of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce Me fully to submit to all the desires of those men, who will not admit, or do refuse and neglect to vindicate the freedom of their own and others, sitting and voting in Parliament.

Besides, all men that know them, know this, how yong States-men (the most part) of these propounders are; so that, till experience of one seven years hath shewed Me, how well they can Govern themselves, and so much power as is wrested from Me, I should be very foolish indeed, and unfaithful in My Trust, to put the reins of both Reason and Government, wholly out of My own into their hands, whose driving is already too much like *Jehu's*; and whose forwardness to ascend the throne of Supremacy pretends more of *Phaeton* then of *Phebus*; God divert the Omen, if it be his will.

They may remember, that at best they sit in Parliament, as My Subjects, not My Superiors; called to be My Counsellors, not Dictators: Their Summons extends to recommend their Advice, not to command My Duty.

When I first heard of Propositions to be sent Me, I expected either some good Laws, which had been antiquated by the course of time, or overlaid by the corruption of maners, had been desired to a restauration of their vigor and due execution; or some evil customs preterlegal,
and

and abuses personal had been to be removed :
or some injuries done by My self, and others,
to the Common-weal, were to be repaired : or
some equable offermies were to be tendred to
Me, wherein the advantages of My Crown be-
ing considered by them, might fairly induce Me
to condescend to what tended to My Subjects
good, without any great diminution of My self,
whom Nature, Law, Reason, and Religion, binde
Me (in the first place) to preserve : without which
'tis impossible to preserve My People according
to My Place.

Or (at least) I looked for such moderate de-
sires of due Reformation of what was (indeed)
amiss in Church and State, as might still pre-
serve the foundation and essentials of Govern-
ment in both ; not shake and quite overthrow ei-
ther of them, without any regard to the Laws in
force, the wisdom and piety of former Parlia-
ments, the ancient and universal practise of
Christian Churches ; the Rights and Priviled-
ges of particular men : Nor yet any thing offer-
ed in lieu, or in the room of what must be de-
stroyed, which might at once reach the good
end of the others Institution, and also supply its
pretended defects, reform its abuses, and satisfie
sober and wise men, not with soft and specious
words, pretending zeal and special piety, but
with pregnant and solid reasons, both divine and
humane, which might justifie the abruptness and
necessity of such vast alterations.

But in all their Propositions I can observe little of these kinds, or to these ends: Nothing of any Laws dis-joynted, which are to be restored; of any Right invaded; of any Justice to be unobstructed; of any Compensations to be made; of any impartial Reformation to be granted: To all, or any of which, Reason, Religion, true Policy, or any other humane motives, might induce Me.

But as to the main matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great Novelty, or Difficulty; I perceive that what were formerly look'd upon as Factions in the State, and Schisms in the Church, and so punishable by the Laws, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamors and assistance (chiefly) to demand not onely Tolerations of themselves, in their vanity, novelty, and confusion; but also Abolition of the Laws against them: and a total extirpation of that Government, whose Rights they have a minde to invade.

This, as to the main; other Propositions are (for the most part) but as waste paper, in which those are wrapped up, to present them somewhat more handsomly.

Nor do I so much wonder at the variety and horrible novelty of some Propositions (there being nothing so monstrous, which some fancies are not prone to long for.)

This casts Me into, not an Admiration, but an Extasie, how such things should have the fortune

to be propounded in the Name of the two Houses of the Parliament of England: Among whom, I am very confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either House, whose judgements free, single, and apart, did approve or desire such destructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perswaded there remains in far the major part of both Houses (if free, and full) so much Learning, Reason, Religion, and just moderation, as to know how to sever between the use and the abuse of things; the institution, and the corruption, the Government, and the mis-Government, the Primitive Paterns, and the aberrations or blottings of after Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon so little, or no Reason (as yet produced to the contrary) so soon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to Antiquity, to the Piety of their Reforming Progenitors, to the prosperity of former times in this Church and State, under the present Government of the Church.

Yet, by a strange fatality, these men suffer, either by their absence, or silence, or negligence, or supine credulity (believing that all is good, which is gilded with shews of Zeal and Reformation) their private dissenting in Judgement, to be drawn into the common sewer or stream of the present vogue and humor, which hath its chief rise and abetment from those popular Clamors and Tumults: which served to give
life

life and strength to the infinite activity of those men, who studyed with all diligence and policy, to improve to their Innovating designs, the present distractions.

Such Armies of Propositions having so little, in My judgement, of Reason, Justice, and Religion on their side, as they had Tumult and Faction for their rise, must not go alone, but ever be backt and seconded with Armies of Soldiers. Though the second should prevail against My Person, yet the first shall never overcome Me; further than I see cause; for, I look not at their Number and Power so much, as I weigh their Reason and Justice.

Had the two Houses first sued out their Liberty, and once effectually redeemed themselves from the Wardship of the Tumults, (which can be no other, than the Hounds that attend the Cry and Hollow of those men, who hunt after Faction and private Designs, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did My judgment tell Me, That the Propositions sent to Me were the Results of the major part of their Votes, who exercise their freedom, as well as they have a right to sit in Parliament: I should then suspect My own judgement, for not speedily and fully concurring with every one of them.

For, I have Charity enough to think, there are wise men among them; and Humility to think, that, as in some things I may want; so

'tis

'tis fit I should use their Advice, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wisdom such a compleatness and inerrability, as to exclude My self; since none of them hath that Part to Act, that Trust to discharge, nor that Estate and Honor to preserve, as My self; without whose Reason concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence is necessary in all Natures productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publique wisdom, which makes the Laws.

But the unreasonableness of some Propositions is not more evident to Me than this is, That they are not the joynt and free desires of those in their major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For, many of them favor very strongly that old leaven of Innovations, masked under the Name of Reformation; (which in My two last famous Predecessors days, heaved at, and sometime threatned both Prince and Parliaments :) But, I am sure was never wont so far to infect the whole mass of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom; however it dispersed among the Vulgar: Nor was it likely so suddenly to taint the major part of both Houses, as that they should unanimously desire, and affect so enormous and dangerous Innovations in Church and State, contrary to their former education, practice and judgement.

Not

Not that I am ignorant, how the choyce of many Members was carried by much faction in the Countreys; some thirsting after nothing more, than a passionate revenge of what ever displeasure they had conceived against Me, My Court, or the Clergy.

But all Reason bids Me impute these sudden and vast desires of change to those few, who armed themselves with the many-headed, and many-handed Tumults.

No less doth Reason, Honor and Safety both of Church and State command Me, to chew such morsels, before I let them down: If the straitness of My Conscience will not give Me leave to swallow down such Camels, as others do of Sacriledge and Injustice both to God and Man, they have no more cause to quarrel with Me, than for this, That My throat is not so wide as theirs. Yet by Gods help I am resolved, That nothing of passion, or peevishness, or list to contradict, or vanity to shew My Negative Power, shall have any byass upon My judgement, to make Me gratifie My Will, by denying any thing which My Reason and Conscience commands Me not.

Nor on the other side, will I consent to more than Reason, Justice, Honor, and Religion perswade Me, to be for Gods glory, the Churches good, My peoples Welfare, and My own Peace.

I will study to satisfie My Parliament, and My People; but I will never, for fear or flattery,

tery, gratifie any Faction, how potent soever? for this were to nourish the disease, and oppress the body.

Although many mens loyalty and prudence are terrified from giving Me, that free, and faithful counsel, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder Me from craving of the counsel of that mighty Counsellor, who can both suggest what is best, and incline My heart stedfastly to follow it.

O thou first and eternal Reason, whose wisdom is fortified with omnipotency, furnish thy servant first with clear discoveries of Truth, Reason, and Justice, in my understanding: then so confirm my will and resolution to adhere to them, that no terrors, injuries, or oppressions of my enemies may ever inforce me against those rules, which thou by them hast planted in my conscience.

Thou never madest me a King, that I should be less than a Man; and not dare to say, Yea, or Nay, as I see cause; which freedom is not denied to the meanest creature, that hath the use of Reason, and liberty of speech.

Shall that be blameable in me, which is commendable veracity and constancy in others?

Thou seest, O Lord, with what partiality, and injustice, they deny that freedom to me their KING, which thou hast given to all men; and which themselves pertinaciously challenge to them-

themselves, while they are so tender of the least breach of their priviledges.

To thee I make My supplication, who canst guide us by an unerring rule, through thy perplexed Labyrinths of our own thoughts, and other mens proposals; which, I have some cause to suspect, are purposely cast as snares, that by my granting or denying them, I might be more entangled in those difficulties, wherewith they lie in wait to afflict me.

O Lord, make thy way plain before me.

Let not my own sinful passions cloud, or divert thy sacred suggestions.

Let thy glory be my end, thy word my rule, and then thy will be done.

I cannot please all, I care not to please some men; If I may be happy to please thee, I need not fear whom I displease.

Thou that makest the wisdom of the world foolishness, and takest in their own devices, such as are wise in their own conceits; make me wise by thy Truth, for thy honor, my Kingdoms general good, and my own souls salvation, and I shall not much regard the worlds opinion, or diminution of me.

The less wisdom they are willing to impute to me, the more they shall be convinced of thy wisdom directing me, while I deny nothing fit to be granted, out of crossness, or humor; nor grant any thing which is to be denied, out of any fear, or flattery of men.

Suffer

Suffer me not to be guilty, nor unhappy, by wil-
ting or inconsiderate advancing any mens de-
signes, which are injurious to the publique good,
while I confirm them by my consent.

Nor let me be any occasion to hinder or defraud
the publique of what is best, by any morose or per-
verse dissentings.

Make me so humbly charitable, as to follow
their advise, when it appears to be for the pub-
lique good, of whose affections to me, I have yet
but few evidences to assure Me.

Thou canst as well bless honest errors, as blast
fraudulent counsels.

Since we must give an account of every evil and
idle word in private, at thy Tribunal; Lord make
me careful of those solemn Declarations of my
minde which are like to have the greatest influ-
ence upon the Publique, either for woe, or weal.

The less others consider what they ask, make me
the more solicitous what I answer.

Though mine own, and my peoples pressuxes are
grievous, and peace would be very pleasing; yet
Lord never suffer me to avoid the one, or purchase
the other, with the least expence or waste of my
conscience; whereof thou, O Lord, onely art de-
serveably more master than my self.

XII. Upon the Rebellion, and troubles in Ireland.

THe Commotions in Ireland were so sud-
den, and so violent, that it was hard at
first either to discern the rise, or apply a
remedy

remedy to that pernicious Rebellion.
Indeed, that sea of blood, which hath there
been cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to
drown any man in eternal both infamy and mis-
ery, whom God shall finde the malicious Author
or Instigator of its effusion.

It fell out, as a most unhappy advantage to
some mens malice against Me; that when they
had impudence enough to lay any thing to My
charge, this bloody opportunity should be of-
fered them, with which I must be aspersed. Al-
though there was nothing which could be more
abhorred to Me, being so full of sin against God,
disloyalty to My self, and destructive to My
Subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be believed,
when they affirmed, That what the Irish Rebels
did, was done with My privity (at least) if not
by My Commission: But these knew too well,
That it is no news for some of My Subjects to
fight, not onely without My Commission, but
against My Command, and Person too; yet all
the while to pretend, they fight by My Autho-
rity, and for My Safety.

I would to God the *Irish* had nothing to al-
ledge for their imitation against those, whose
blame must needs be the greater, by how much
Protestant Principles are more against all Re-
bellion against Princes, then those of Papists.
Nor will the goodness of mens intentions excuse
the scandal, and contagion of their Examples.

But

But whereas I fail of their Duty toward Me, I must bear the blame; this Honor My Enemies have always done Me, to think moderate injuries not proportionate to Me, nor comperent tryals, either of My patience under them, or My pardon of them.

Therefore with exquisite malice they have mixed the gall and vinegar of falsity and contempt, with the cup of My affliction; Charging Me not onely with untruths, but such, as wherein I have the greatest share of loss and dishonor by what is committed; whereby (in all Policy, Reason and Religion, having least cause to give the least consent, and most grounds of utter de-
restation) I might be represented by them to the world, the more inhumane and barbarous: Like some Cyclopick Monster, whom nothing will serve to eat and drink, but the flesh and blood of My own Subjects; in whose common welfare My Interest lies, as much as some mens doth in their perturbations; who think they cannot do well, but in evil times, nor so cunningly, as in laying the *odium* of those sad events on others, wherewith themselves are most pleased, and whereof they have been not the least occasion.

And certainly, 'tis thought by many wise men, That the preposterous rigor, and unreasonable severity, which some men carried before them in *England*, was not the least incentive, that kindled and blew up into those horrid flames, the sparks of discontent, which wanted not pre-
G disposed

disposed fewel for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where despair being added to their former discontents, and the fears of utter extirpation to their wonted oppressions, it was easie to provoke to an open Rebellion, a people prone enough to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by some Principles of their Religion, and the natural desires of liberty; both to exempt themselves from their present restraints, and to prevent those after rigors, wherewith they saw themselves apparently threatned, by the covetous zeal, and uncharitable fury of some men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion, to endure no other but their own.

God knows, as I can with Truth wash My hands in Innocency, as to any guilt in that Rebellion; so I might wash them in My Tears, as to the sad apprehensions I had, to see it spread so far, and make such waste. And this in a time, when distractions and jealousies here in *England*, made most men rather intent to their own safety, or designs they were driving, then to the relief of those, who were every day inhumanely butchered in *Ireland*: Whose Tears and Blood might, if nothing else, have quenched, or at least for a time repressed and smothered those sparks of Civil Dissentions and Jealousies, which in *England* some men most industriously scattered.

I would to God no man had been less affected with *Ireland's* sad estate, then My self: I offered to go My self in Person upon that expedition;

But

But some men were either afraid I should have any one Kingdom quiered; or loath they were to shoot at any mark here, less then My self; or that any should have the glory of My destruction, but themselves. Had My many offers been accepted, I am confident, neither the Ruine had been so great, nor the Calamity so long, nor the Remedy so desperate.

So that, next to the sin of those who began that Rebellion, theirs must needs be; who either hindred the speedy suppressing of it by Domestick Dissentions, or diverted the Ayds, or exasperated the Rebels to the most desperate resolutions and actions, by threatening all Extremities, not onely to the known Heads, and chief Incendiaries, but even to the whole community of that Nation; Resolving to destroy Root and Branch, men, women and children; without any regard to those usual plea's for Mercy, which Conquerors, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own breasts, in behalf of those, whose oppressive faces, rather then their malice, engaged them; or whose imbecility for Sex and Age was such, as they could neither lift up a hand against them, nor distinguish between their right hand and their left: Which preposterous and (I think) un-evangelical Zeal, is too like that of the rebuked Disciples, who would go no lower in their revenge, then to call for fire from Heaven upon whole Cities, for the repulse or neglect of a few; or like that of *Jacobs sons*,

which the Father both blamed and cursed, chusing rather to use all extremities, which might drive men to desperate obstinacy, then to apply moderate remedies; such as might punish some with exemplary Justice, yet disarm others, with tenders of mercy upon the submission, and our protection of them, from the fury of those, who would soon drown them, if they refused to swim down the popular stream with them.

But some kinde of Zeal counts all merciful moderation, luke-warmness; and had rather be cruel then counted cold; and is not seldom more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin, then for any harm he hath done. The confiscation of mens estates being more beneficial, then the charity of saving their lives, or reforming their Errors.

When all proportionable succors of the poor Protestants in *Ireland* (who were daily massacred, and overborn with numbers of now desperate Enemies) was diverted and obstructed here; I was earnestly entreated, and generally advised by the chief of the Protestant party there, to get them some respite and breathing by a cessation, without which they saw no probability (unless by miracle) to preserve the remnant that had yet escaped; God knows with how much commiseration and solicitous caution I carried on that business, by persons of Honor and Integrity, that so I might neither encourage the Rebels Insolence, nor discourage the Protestants Loyalty and Patience.

Yet

Yet when this was effected in the best sort that the necessity and difficulty of affairs would then permit, I was then to suffer again in My Reputation and Honor, because I suffered not the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the Protestants there; on that I should be rid

I thought, that in all reason, the gaining of that respite could not be so much to the Rebels advantages (which some have highly calumniated against Me) as it might have been for the Protestants future, as well as present safety; If during the time of that Cessation, some men had had the grace to have laid *Ireland's* sad condition more to heart; and laid aside those violent motions, which were here carried on by those, that had better skill to let blood, than to stretch it.

But in all the misconstructions of My actions, (which are prone to finde more credulity in men to what is false and evil, than love or charity to what is true and good,) as I have no Judge but God above Me, so I can have comfort to appeal to his omniscience, who doth not therefore deny My Innocence, because he is pleased so far to try My Patience, as he did his servant *Job's*.

I have enough to do, to look to My own Conscience, and the faithful discharge of My Trust as a KING; I have scarce leisure to consider those swarms of reproaches, which issue out of some mens mouthes and hearts, as easily as smoke, or sparks do out of a furnace; Much less

not make such prolix Apologies, as might give those men satisfaction: who conscious to their own depth of wickedness, are loath to believe any man not to be as bad as themselves.

'Tis Kingly to do well, and hear ill: If I can but act the one, I shall not much regard to bear the other.

I thank God, I can hear with patience, as bad as My worst Enemies can fallily say. And I hope I shall still do better than they desire, or deserve I should.

I believe it will at last appear, That they who first began to embroyl My other Kingdoms, are in great part guilty, if not of the first letting out, yet of the not timely stopping those horrid effusions of blood in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever My Enemies please to say or think) I look upon, as that of My other Kingdoms, exhausted out of My own veins; no man being so much weakned by it, as My self: And I hope, though mens unsainable cruelties never will, yet the Mercy of God will at length say to his Justice, *It is enough*; and command the Sword of Civil Wars to sheath it self: his merciful Justice intending, I trust, not our utter confusion, but our cure; the abatement of our sins, not the desolating of these Nations,

O my God, let those infinite mercies prevent us once again, which I and my Kingdoms have formerly abused, and can never deserve should be restored.

Thou

Thou seest how much cruelty among Christians is acted under the colour of Religion; as if we could not be Christians, unless we crucifie one another.

Because we have not more loved thy Truth, and practiced in charity, thou hast suffered a spirit of error and bitterness, of mutual and mortal hatred to arise among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein we have sinned, and sanctifie what we have suffered.

Let our repentance be our recovery, as our great sins have been our ruine.

Let not the miseries I and my Kingdoms have hitherto suffered, seem small to thee: but make our sins appear to our consciences, as they are represented in the glass of thy judgements; for thou never punishest small failings with so severe afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great mercies, pardon our sins, and remove thy judgements which are very many, and very heavy. Yet let our sins be ever more grievous to us, than thy judgements; and make us more willing to repent, than to be relieved; first give us the peace of penitent consciences, and then the tranquillity of united Kingdoms.

In the sea of our Saviours blood drown our sins, and through this red sea of our own blood bring us at last to a state of piety, peace, and plenty.

As my publique relations to all, make me share in all my Subjects sufferings; so give me such a pious

sense of them, as becomes a Christian King, and a loving Father of my People.

Let the scandalous and unjust reproaches cast upon me, be as a breath, more to kindle my compassion; Give me grace to heap charitable coals of fire upon their heads to melt them, whose malice or cruel Zeal hath kindled, or hindered the quenching of those flames, which have so much wasted my three Kingdoms.

O rescue and assist those poor Protestants in Ireland, whom thou hast hitherto preserved.

And lead those in the ways of thy saving truths, whose ignorance or errors have filled them with rebellious and destructive principles; which they act, under an opinion, That they do thee good service.

Let the hand of thy justice be against those, who maliciously and despitefully have raised, or fomented those cruel and desperate Wars.

Thou that art far from destroying the innocent with the guilty, and the erroneous with the malicious; Thou that hadst pity on Nineveh for the many Children that were therein; give not over the whole stock of that populous and seduced Nation, to the wrath of those, whose covetousness makes them cruel; nor to their anger, which is too fierce, and therefore justly cursed.

Preserve, if it be thy will, in the midst of the furnace of thy severe justice, a Rosterity, which may praise thee for thy mercy.

And deal with me, not according to mans unjust

just reproaches; but according to the immediacy of my bands in thy sight.

If I have desired, or delighted in the woful day of my Kingdoms calamities; if I have not earnestly studied, and faithfully endeavored the preventing and composing of these bloody distractions; Then let thy hand be against me; and my Fathers house. O Lord, thou seest I have enemies enough of men; as I need not, so I should not dare thee to imprecate thy curse on me and mine; if my conscience did not witness my integrity, which thou O Lord knowest right well: But I trust, not to my own merit, but thy mercies; spare us, O Lord, and be not angry with us for ever.

XIII. Upon the Calling in of the Scots, and their coming.

THe Scots are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature, Sovereignty, and Bounty, with My Father of blessed memory; but also special and late obligations of favors; having gratified the active Spirits among them so far, that I seemed to myself, to prefer the desires of John Remy, before My own Interest and Honor. But, I see, Royal bounty emboldens some men to ask, and act beyond all bounds of modesty and gratitude. My charity, and Act of Pacification, forbids Me to reflect on former passages; wherein I shall ever be far from letting any mans ingratitude, or

in-

Inconstancy; make Me repent of what I granted them, for the publique good: I pray God it may so prove.

The coming again of that Party into *England*, with an Army, onely to conform this Church to their late New model, cannot but seem as unreasonable, as they would have thought the same measure offered from hence to themselves.

Other errand I could never understand they had, (besides those common and vulgar flourishes for Religion and Liberty) save onely to confirm the Presbyterian Copy they had set, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloody Characters.

Which design and end, whether it will justify the use of such violent means, before the divine Justice: I leave to their Consciences to judge, who have already felt the misery of the means, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdom, or that.

Such knots and crosses of grain being objected here, as will hardly suffer that Form which they cry up, as the onely just Reformation, and setting of Government and Discipline in Churches, to go on so smoothly here, as it might do in *Scotland*, and was by them imagined would have done in *England*, when so many of the *English* Clergy, through levity, or discontent, if no worse passion, suddenly quitted their former engagements to Episcopacy, and faced about to their Presbytery.

It

It cannot but seem either passion, or some self-seeking; more then true Zeal, and pious Discretion; for any forraign State or Church to prescribe such medicines onely for others, which themselves have used, rather successfully then commendably; not considering that the same Physick on different constitutions, will have different operations; That may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know any such tough and malignant humors in the constitution of the *English* Church, which gentler applications then those of an Army, might not easily have removed: Nor is it so proper to hew out religious Reformations by the Sword, as to polish them by fair and equal disputations among those that are most concerned in the differences, whom not Force, but Reason ought to convince.

But their design now, seemed rather to cut off all disputation here, then to procure a fair and equal one: For, it was concluded there, that the *English* Clergy must conform to the *Scots* pattern, before ever they could be heard what they could say for themselves, or against the others way.

I could have wished fairer proceedings, both for their credits, who urge things with such violence, and for other mens Consciences too, who can receive litle satisfaction in these points, which are maintained rather by Soldiers fighting in the Field, than Scholars disputing in free and learned Synods.

Sure,

Sum, in matters of Religion, those Truths
gain most on mens Judgements and Conscien-
ces, which are least urged with secular violence,
which weakens Truth with prejudices, and is
unreasonable to be used, till such means of ra-
tional conviction hath been applied, as leaving
no excuse for ignorance, condemns mens obsti-
nacy to deserved penalties.

Which no charity will easily suspect of so many
learned and pious Church men in *England*;
who being always bred up, and conformable to
the Government of Episcopacy, cannot so soon
renounce both their former opinion and practice,
onely because that Party of the *Scots* will needs
by Force assist a like Party here, either to drive
all Ministers, as sheep, into the common fold of
Presbytery, or destroy them, at least fleece
them, by depriving them of the benefit of their
Flocks. If the *Scotch* sole Presbytery were pro-
ved to be the onely institution of Jesus Christ,
for all Churches Government: yet I believe it
would be hard to prove, that Christ had given
those *Scots*, or any other of My Subjects, Com-
mission by the Sword to set it up in any of My
Kingdoms, without My consent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his A-
postles pay'd to the chief Governors of States,
where they lived, is very clear in the Gospel, but
that he or they ever commanded to set up such
a parity of Presbyters, and in such a way as those
Scots endeavor, I think is not very disputable.

If Presbytery, in such a supremacy, be an institution of Christ; sure it differs from all others, and is the first and onely point of Christianity, that was to be planted and watered with so much Christian blood; whose effusions run in a stream, so contrary to that of the Primitive Planters, both of Christianity and Episcopacy, which was with patient shedding of their own blood, not violent drawing other mens: sure there is too much of Man in it, to have much of Christ; none of whose institutions were carried on, or begun with the temptations of covetousness or ambition, of both which this is vehemently suspected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the point, which those *Scots* had by Army or Commissioners to move Me with, by their many Solemn obtestations, and pious threatnings, but onely this, To represent to Me, the wonderful necessity of setting up their Presbytery in *England*, to avoid the further miseries of a War; which some men chiefly on this design at first had begun; and now further engaged themselves to continue.

What hinders, that any Sects, Schisms or Heresies, if they can get but numbers, strength and opportunity, may not, according to this opinion and patern, set up their ways by the like methods of violence? All which Presbytery seeks to suppress, and render odious under those Names; when Wise and Learned men think, That nothing hath more marks of Schism and
 ordr
 Sectarism,

94
SECTARIANISM.
Sectarism, then this Presbyterian way, both as to the Ancient, and still most Universal way of the Church Government, and specially as to the particular Laws and Constitutions of this *English Church*; which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for Me, till I see more Rational and Religious motives, then Soldiers use to carry in their Knapacks.

But we must leave the success of all to God, who hath many ways (having first taken us off from the folly of our opinions, and fury of our passion) to teach us those Rules of true Reason, and peaceable Wisdom, which is from above, tending most to Gods glory, and his Churches good, which I think My self so much the more bound in Conscience to attend, with the most judicious zeal and care, by how much I esteem the Church above the State, the glory of Christ above Mine own; and the Salvation of mens Souls, above the Preservation of their Bodies and Estates.

Nor may any men, I think, without sin and presumption, forcibly endeavor to cast the Churches under My care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied, and fashioned to their designs, till they have first gained My consent, and resolved both My own and other mens Consciences by the strength of their Reasons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manly, Christian, nor Loyal, shall never either shake or settle My Religion, nor any mans else, who

who knows what Religion means: And how far it is removed from all Faction, whose proper engine is Force, the Arbitrator of Beasts, nor of reasonable Men, much less of humble Christians, and loyal Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of themselves, that they care not what cost they lay out upon their opinions; especially those, that have some temptation of gain to recompence their losses and hazards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the Scots Armies coming in against My will, and their forfeiture of so many Obligations of duty and gratitude to Me, than I wondred, how those here could so much distrust Gods assistance; who so much pretended Gods Cause to the People, as if they had the certainty of some Divine Revelation: considering they were more then competently furnished with My Subjects Arms and Ammunition, My Navy by Sea, My Forts, Castles, and Cities by Land.

But I finde, that men jealous of the justifiableness of their doings and designs before God, never think they have humane strength enough to carry their work on, seem it never so plausible to the People: What cannot be justified in Law or Religion, had need be fortified with Power.

And yet such is the inconstancy that attends all mindes engaged in violent motion, that whom some of them one while earnestly invite to come in to their Assistance, others of them soon after
are

are weary of, and with nauseating cast them out
what one Party thought to river to a settledness
by the strength and influence of the *Scots*, that
the other rejects and contemns; at once, despi-
sing the Kirk Government, and Discipline of
the *Scots*, and frustrating the Success of so
chargeable, more then charitable Assistance.
For, sure the Church of *England* might have
purchased, at a far cheaper rate, the Truth and
Happinels of Reformed Government and Disci-
pline (if it had been wanting) though it had en-
tertained the best Divines of Christendom, for
their Advice in a full and free Synod: which I
was ever willing to, and desirous of, that matters
being impartially settled, might be more satisfac-
tory to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods Justice, and Mans Folly;
will at length be discovered, through all the films
and pretensions of Religion, in which Politi-
cians wrap up their designs: In vain do men
hope to build their Piety on the ruines of Loyalty.
Nor can those considerations or designs be
durable, when Subjects make Bankrupt of their
Allegiance, under pretence of setting up a
quicker trade for Religion.

But, as My best Subjects of *Scotland* never de-
serted Me, so, I cannot think that the most are
gone so far from Me, in a prodigality of their
love and respects toward Me, as to make Me to
despair of their return; when besides the bonds
of Nature and Conscience, which they have to

Me,

Me, all Reason and true Policy will teach them, that their chiefest interest consists in their fidelity to the Crown, not in their serviceableness to any Party of the People, to a neglect and betraying of My Safety and Honor for their own advantages: However, the less cause I have to trust to men, the more I shal apply My self to God.

The troubles of my Soul are enlarged, O Lord, bring thou me out of my distress.

Lord, direct thy servant in the ways of that pious simplicity, which is the best policy.

Deliver me from the combined strength of those, who have so much of the Serpents subtilty, that they forget the Doves Innocency.

Though hand joyn in hand, yet let them not prevail against my soul, to the betraying of my Conscience and Honor.

Thou, O Lord, canst turn the hearts of those Parties in both Nations, as thou didst the men of Judah and Israel, to restore David with as much loyal Zeal, as they did with inconstancy and eagerness pursue him.

Preserve the love of thy Truth and uprightness in me, and I shall not despair of my Subjects affections returning towards me.

Thou canst soon cause the overflowing Seas to ebbe, and retire back again to the bounds which thou hast appointed for them.

O my God, I trust in thee: let me not be ashamed; let not my enemies triumph over me.

H

Let

Let them be ashamed who transgress without a cause: let them be turned back that persecute my Soul.

Let integrity and uprightness preserve me, for I wait on thee, O Lord.

Redeem thy Church, O God, out of all its Troubles.

XIV. Upon the Covenant.

THe Presbyterian Scots are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of Auxillaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till those that call them in, have pawned their Souls to them by a Solemn League and Covenant:

Where many engines of religious and fair pretensions are brought, chiefly to batter or rase Episcopacy; This they make the grand evil Spirit; which, with some other Imps purposely added, to make it more odious and terrible to the Vulgar, must by so solemn a Charm and Exorcism be cast out of this Church, after more than a thousand years possession here, from the first plantation of Christianity in this Island, and an universal prescription of time and practice in all other Churches since the Apostles times, till this last Century.

But no Antiquity must plead for it, Presbytery, like a yong Heir, thinks the Father hath lived long enough; and impatient not to be in the Bishops Chair and Authority (though Lay-men

go away with the Revenues) all Art is used to sink Episcopacy, and lanch Presbytery in *England*, which was lately boyed up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am unsatisfied with many passages in that Covenant (some referring to My self with very dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the design and drift touching the Discipline and Government of the Church; and such a maner of carrying them on to new ways, by Oathes and Covenants, where it is hard for men to be engaged by no less, then swearing for, or against those things, which are of no clear Moral necessity, but very disputable, and controverted among learned and godly men: whereto the application of Oathes can hardly be made and enjoyned with that judgement and certainty in ones self, or that charity and candor to others of different opinion, as I think Religion requires: which never refuses fair and equable deliberations, yea, and dissentings too, in matters onely probable.

The enjoyning of Oathes upon People, must needs in things doubtful, be dangerous, as in things unlawful, damnable; and no less superfluous, where former religious and legal Engagements, bound men sufficiently, to all necessary duties. Nor can I see how they will reconcile such an Innovating Oath and Covenant, with that former Protestation which was so lately taken, To maintain the Religion established in

the Church of *England*: since they count Discipline so great a part of Religion.

But ambitious mindes never think they have laid snares and gins enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulity: for by such politique and seemingly pious stratagems, they think to keep the popularity fast to their Parties, under the terror of perjury: Whereas certainly all honest and wise men ever thought themselves sufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegiance, and Laws to God and Man.

Nor can such after-Contracts, devised and imposed by a few men in a declared Party, without My consent, and without any like power or president from God or Mans Laws, be ever thought, by judicious men, sufficient, either to absolve or slacken those Moral and Eternal bonds of duty, which lie upon all My Subjects consciences, both to God and Me.

Yet as things now stand, good men shall least offend God or Me, by keeping their Covenant in honest and lawful ways; since I have the charity to think, That the chief end of the Covenant, in such mens intentions, was, To preserve Religion in Purity, and the Kingdoms in Peace: To other then such ends and means, they cannot think themselves engaged; nor will those that have any true touches of Conscience, endeavor to carry on the best designs, (much less such as are, and will be daily more apparently factious and ambitious) by any unlawful means, under that

that Title of the *Covenant* : unless they dare prefer ambiguous, dangerous, and un-authorized Novelties, before their known and sworn Duties, which are indispenfable, both to God and My self.

I am prone to believe, and hope, That many who took the Covenant, are yet firm to this judgement, That fuch later Vows, Oathes, or Leagues, can never blot out thofe former gravings and characters, which by juft and lawful Oathes were made upon their Souls.

That which makes fuch Confederations by way of Solemn Leagues and Covenants more to be fufpected, is, That they are the common road, ufed in all factious and powerful Perturbations of State or Church : When formalities of extraordinary Zeal and Piety, are never more ftudied and elaborate, then when Politicians moft agitate desperate defigns againft all that is fetled, or f acred in Religion and Laws ; which by fuch fcrews are cunningly, yet forcibly wrefted by fecret fteps, and lefs fenfible degrees, from their known Rule and wonted Practice, to comply with the humors of thofe men, who aym to fubdue all to their own will and power, under the difguifes of Holy Combinations.

Which cords and wythes will hold mens Confcienfes no longer, then Force attends and twifts them : For every man foon grows his own Pope, and eafily abfolves himfelf of thofe ties, which, not the commands of Gods word,

or the Laws of the Land, but onely the subtilty and terror of a Party casts upon him; either superstitious and vain, when they were sufficiently tyed before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by such after-ligaments, they finde the Imposers really ayming to dissolve, or suspend their former, just, and necessary obligations.

Indeed, such illegal ways seldom or never intend the engaging men more to duties, but onely to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of Piety pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Party and Design intended.

I see the Imposers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and relish, who will but swallow it: They admit any mens senses of it, the diverse or contrary; with any Salvo's, Cautions and Reservations, so as they cross not the chief Design, which is laid against the Church and Me.

It is enough, if they get but the reputation of a seeming encrease to their Party; So little do men remember that God is not mocked.

In such latitudes of sense, I believe many that love Me and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not so fondly and superstitiously taken by it, as now to act clearly against both all Piety and Loyalty: who first yielded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruine, which hung over their heads, in case

case they wholly refused it, than for any value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of some general clauses may (perhaps) serve somewhat to relieve them, as of *Doing and endeavoring what lawfully they may, in their Places and Callings, and according to the Word of God*: For, these (indeed) carry no man beyond those bounds of good Conscience, which are certain and fixed, either in Gods Laws, as to the general, or the Laws of the State and Kingdom, as to the particular regulation and exercise of mens duties.

I would to God such as glory most in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themselves within those lawful bounds, to which God hath called them: Surely it were the best way to expiate the rashness of taking it: which must needs then appear, when besides the want of a full and lawful Authority at first to enjoin it, it shall actually be carried on beyond, and against those ends which were in it specified and pretended. I willingly forgive such mens taking the Covenant, who keep it within such bounds of Piety, Law and Loyalty, as can never hurt either the Church, My self, or the Publique Peace: Against which, no mans lawful Calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it just or comely, that by the partial advice of a few Divines, (of so soft and servile tempers,

as disposed them to so sudden acting and compliance, contrary to their former Judgements, Profession and Practice) such foul scandals and suspitions should be cast upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deserved the name of *Reformed Churches*, abroad, nor by any men of learning and candor, at home: all whose judgements I cannot but prefer before any mens, now factiously engaged.

No man can be more forward than My self, to carry on all due Reformations, with mature judgement, and a good Conscience, in what things I shall (after impartial advice) be, by Gods Word, and right Reason, convinced to be amiss: I have offered more than ever the fullest, freest, and wisest Parliaments did desire.

But the sequel of some mens actions makes it evident, That the main Reformation intended, is, The abasing of Episcopacy into Presbytery, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriously used, as to their legal Rights, than the Bishops and Church-men. These, as the fattest Deer, must be destroyed; the other Rascal-herd of Schisms, Heresies, &c. being lean, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboth's* Vineyard made him the onely Blasphemer of his City, and fit to dye. Still I see, while the breath of Religion fills the Sails, Profit is the Compass, by which Factious men
steer

steer their course in all seditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no men lay more open to the sacrilegious temptation of usurping the Churches Lands and Revenues, (which issuing chiefly from the Crown, are held of it, and legally can revert onely to the Crown with My Consent) so I have always had such a perfect abhorrence of it in My Soul, that I never found the least inclination to such sacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater desire to have Bishops and all Church-men so reformed, that they may best deserve and use, not onely what the pious munificence of My Predecessors hath given to God and the Church, but all other additions of Christian bounty.

But no necessity shall ever, I hope, drive Me or Mine to invade or sell the Priests Lands, which both *Pharaoh's* divinity, and *Joseph's* true piety, abhorred to do: So unjust I think it both in the eye of Reason and Religion, to deprive the most sacred employment of all due encouragements; and like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to withdraw the Straw, and encrease the Task; so pursuing the oppressed Church, as some have done, to the red-sea of a Civil War, where nothing but a miracle can save either It, or Him, who esteems it His greatest Title to be called, and His chiefest glory to be *The Defender of the Church, both in its true Faith, and its just fruitions; equally abhorring Sacrilege and Apostacy.*

I had

I had rather live as My Predecessor *Henry* sometime did, on the Churches Alms, then violently to take the bread out of Bishops and Ministers mouths.

The next work will be *Feroboam's* reformation, consecrating the meanest of the People to be Priests in *Israel*, to serve those Golden Calves who have enriched themselves with the Churches Patrimony and Dowry; which, how it thrived both with Prince, Priests, and People, is well enough known: And so it will be here, when from the tuition of Kings and queens, which have been nursing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it shall be at their allowance, who have already discovered, what hard Fathers and Stepmothers they will be.

If the poverty of *Scotland* might, yet the plenty of *England* cannot excuse the envy and rapine of the Churches Rights and Revenues.

I cannot so much as pray God to prevent those sad consequences, which will inevitably follow the parity and poverty of Ministers, both in Church and State; since I think it no less than a mocking and tempting of God, to desire him to hinder those mischiefs, whose occasions and remedies are in our own power; it being every mans sin, not to avoid the one, and not to use the other.

There are ways enough to repair the breaches of the State, without the ruines of the Church; as I would be a Restorer of the one, so I would
not

not be an Oppressor of the other, under the pretence of Publique Debts: The occasions contracting them, were bad enough, but such a discharging of them, would be much worse; I pray God neither I, nor Mine, may be accessary to either.

To thee, O Lord, do I address my prayer, beseeching thee to pardon the rashness of my Subjects swearings, and to quicken their sense and observation of those just, moral, and indispensable bonds, which thy Word, and the Laws of this Kingdom have laid upon their Consciences; From which no pretensions of Piety and Reformation are sufficient to absolve them, or to engage them to any contrary practises.

Make them at length seriously to consider, that nothing violent and injurious can be religious.

Thou allowest no mans committing Sacriledge, under the Zeal of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not sacrilegious designs to have the countenance of religious ties.

Thou hast taught us by the wisest of Kings, that it is a snare to take things that are holy, and after Vows to make enquiry.

Ever keep thy servant from consenting to perjurious and sacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curse to all posterity, of robbing thee and thy Church, of what thy bounty hath given us, and thy clemency hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though

Though my Treasures are exhausted, my Revenues diminished, and my Debts encreased, yet never suffer me to be tempted to use such profane Reparations; lest a coal from thine Altar set such a fire on my Throne and Conscience, as will be hardly quenched.

Let not the Debts and Engagements of the Publique, which some mens folly and prodigality hath contracted, be an occasion to impoverish thy Church.

The State may soon recover, by thy blessing of peace upon us; The Church is never likely, in times, where the Charity of most men is grown so cold, and their Religion so illiberal.

Continue to those that serve thee and thy Church, all those encouragements, which by the will of the pious Donors, and the justice of the Laws are due unto them; and give them grace to deserve and use them aright to thy glory, and the relief of the poor; That thy Priests may be clothed with righteousness, and the poor may be satisfied with bread.

Let not holy things be given to Swine; nor the Churches bread to Dogs; rather let them go about the City, grin like a Dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied.

Let those sacred morsels, which some men have already by violence devoured, never digest with them, nor theirs; Let them be as Naboth's Vineyard to Ahab, gall in their mouths, rottenness to their names, a moth to their Families, and a sting to their Consciences.

digress

Break

Break in sunder, O Lord, all violent and sacrilegious Confederations, to do wickedly and injuriously.

Divide their hearts and tongues, who have banded together against the Church and State, that the folly of such may be manifest to all men, and proceed no further.

But so favor my righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the mercies of thee, the most High, I may never miscarry.

XV. Upon the many Jealousies raised, and Scandals cast upon the KING, to stir up the people against Him.

IF I had not My own Innocency, and Gods protection, it were hard for Me to stand out against those stratagems and conflicts of malice, which by Falsities seek to oppress the Truth; and by Jealousies to supply the defect of Real causes, which might seem to justifie so unjust Engagements against Me.

And indeed, the worst effects of open Hostility come short of these Designs: For I can more willingly lose My Crowns, than My Credit; nor are My Kingdoms so dear to Me, as My Reputation and Honor.

Those must have a period with My life; but these may survive to a glorious kinde of Immortality, when I am dead and gone: A good name being the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating

secrating of them to an Eternity of love and gratitude among Posterity.

Those foul and false aspersions were secret engines at first employed against My peoples love of Me: that undermining their opinion and value of Me, My enemies, and theirs too, might at once blow up their affections, and batter down their loyalty.

Wherein yet, I thank God, the detriment of My Honor is not so afflictive to Me, as the sin and danger of My peoples souls, whose eyes once blinded with such mists of suspicions, they are soon mis-led into the most desperate precipices of actions: wherein they do not onely not consider their sin and danger, but glory in their zealous adventures; while I am rendred to them so fit to be destroyed, that many are ambitious to merit the name of My Destroyers; Imagining they then fear God most, when they least honor their King.

I thank God, I never found, but My pity was above My anger; nor have My passions ever so prevailed against Me, as to exclude My most compassionate prayers for them, whom devout errors, more than their own malice, have betrayed to a most religious Rebellion.

I had the Charity to interpret, that most part of My Subjects fought against My supposed Errors, not My Person; and intended to mend Me, not to end Me: And I hope that God pardoning their Errors, hath so far accepted and answered

swered their good intentions, that as he hath yet preserved Me, so he hath by these afflictions prepared Me, both to do him better service, and My people more good, than hitherto I have done.

I do not more willingly forgive their seductions, which occasioned their loyal injuries, then I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjust suspicions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conscious to My own Affections toward the generality of My people, to suspect theirs to Me; nor shall the malice of My Enemies ever be able to deprive Me of the comfort, which that confidence gives Me; I shall never gratifie the spightfulness of a few, with any sinister thoughts of all their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have seduced.

The worst some mens ambition can do, shall never perswade Me, to make so bad interpretations of most of My Subjects actions; who possibly may be Erroneous, but not Heretical in point of Loyalty.

The sense of the Injuries done to My Subjects is as sharp, as those done to My self; our welfares being inseparable; in this onely they suffer more then My self, that they are animated by some seducers, to injure at once both themselves and Me.

For this is not enough to the malice of My Enemies, that I be afflicted; but it must be done by such instruments, that My afflictions grieve Me

Me not more, then this doth, that I am afflicted by those, whose prosperity I earnestly desire, and whose seduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been My open and forraign Enemies, I could have born it; but they must be My own Subjects, who are next to My Children, dear to Me: And for the restoring of whose tranquillity, I could willingly be the *Jonah*; If I did not evidently foresee, that by the divided Interests of their and Mine Enemies, as by contrary winds, the storm of their miseries would be rather encreased then allayed.

I had rather prevent My peoples ruine, then Rule over them; nor am I so ambitious of that Dominion which is but My Right, as of their happiness; if it could expiate, or countervail such a way of obtaining it, by the highest injuries of Subjects committed against their Sovereign.

Yet I had rather suffer all the miseries of life, and die many deaths, then shamefully to desert, or dishonorably to betray My own just Rights and Sovereignty; thereby to gratifie the ambition; or justifie the malice of My Enemies; between whose malice, and other mens mistakes, I put as great a difference, as between an ordinary Ague, and the Plague; or the Itch of Novelty, and the Leprosie of Disloyalty.

As Lyars need have good memories, so Malicious persons need good inventions; that their calumnies may fit every mans fancy; and what their reproaches want of truth, they may make up with number and shew.

My

My patience (I thank God) will better serve
Me to bear, and My charity to forgive, then My
leisure to answer the many false aspersions which
some men have cast upon Me.

Did I not more consider My Subjects Satisfaction, then My own Vindication, I should never have given the malice of some men that pleasure, as to see Me take notice of, or remember what they say or object.

I would leave the Authors to be punished by their own evil manners, and seared Consciences, which will, I believe, in a shorter time than they be aware of, both confute and revenge all those black and false Scandals which they have cast on Me; and make the world see, There is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them, or Civility (I need not say Loyalty) in the not-suppressing of them; whose credit and reputation, even with the People, shall ere long be quite blasted by the breath of that same furnace of popular obloquy and detraction, which they have studied to heat and inflame to the highest degree of Infamy, and wherein they have sought to cast and consume My Name and Honor.

First, nothing gave Me more cause to suspect, and search My own Innocency, then when I observed so many forward to engage against Me, who had made great professions of singular Piety: For this gave to vulgar mindes so bad a reflection upon Me and My Cause, as if it had
I been

been impossible to adhere to Me, and not withal part from God; to think or speak well of Me, and not to blaspheme him; so many were perswaded, That these two were utterly inconsistent, to be at once Loyal to Me, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) many with Me, which were both Learned and Religious, (much above that ordinary size, and that vulgar proportion, wherein some men glory so much) who were so well satisfied in the cause of My sufferings, that they chose rather to suffer with Me, then forsake Me.

Nor is it strange, that so religious Pretensions as were used against Me, should be to many well-minded men a great temptation to oppose Me; Especially, being urged by such popular Preachers, as think it no sin to lye for God, and what they please to call Gods Cause, cursing all that will not curse with them; looking so much at, and crying up the goodness of the end propounded, that they consider not the lawfulness of the means used, nor the depth of the mischief, chiefly plotted and intended.

The weakness of these mens judgements, must be made up by their clamors and activity.

It was a great part of some mens Religion, to scandalize Me and Mine; they thought theirs could not be true, if they cryed not down Mine as false.

I thank God, I have had more tryal of his
grace,

grace, as to the constancy of My Religion in the Protestant profession of the Church of *England*, both abroad and at home, than ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know any Exception I am so lyable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixedness in that Religion; whose judicious and solid grounds, both from Scripture and Antiquity, will not give My Conscience leave to approve or consent to those many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold Ignorance of some men would needs obtrude upon Me and My People.

Contrary to those well-tryed foundations both of Truth and Order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have settled in the Confession and Constitution of this Church in *England*, which many former Parliaments, in the most calm and unpassionate times, have oft confirmed; In which I shall have ever, by Gods help, persevere, as believing it hath most of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did My using the assistance of some Papists, which were My Subjects, any way fight against My Religion, as some men would needs interpret it; especially those, who least of all men cared whom they imployed, or what they said and did, so they might prevail.

'Tis strange that so wise men, as they would be esteemed, should not conceive, That differences of perswasion in matters of Religion may

easily fall out, where there is the sameness of duty, Allegiance and Subjection. The first they own as Men and Christians, to God; the second they owe to Me in Common, as their KING: different professions in point of Religion, cannot (any more than in civil Trades) take away the community of relations either to Parents, or to Princes: And where is there such an *Ogllo* or medley of various Religions in the world again, as those men entertain in their service (who finde most fault with Me) without any scruple, as to the diversity of their Sects and Opinions?

It was, indeed, a foul and indelible shame, for such as would be counted Protestants, to enforce Me, a declared Protestant, their Lord and King, to a necessary use of Papists, or any other, who did but their duty to help Me to defend My self.

Nor did I more than is lawful for any King, in such exigents, to use the ayd of any his Subjects.

I am sorry the Papists should have a greater sense of their Allegiance, than many Protestant Professors; who seem to have learned, and to practise the worst Principles of the worst Papists.

Indeed, it had been a very impertinent and unreasonable scruple in Me (and very pleasing no doubt to My Enemies) to have been then disputing the points of different beliefs in My Subjects, when I was disputed with by Swords points: and when I needed the help of My Subjects, as Men, no less then their prayers, as Christians.

The

The noise of My Evil Counsellors was another useful device for those, who were impatient any mens counsels, but their own, should be followed in Church or State; who were so eager in giving Me better counsel, that they would not give Me leave to take it with freedom, as a Man, or honor, as a King; making their counsels more like a drench, that must be poured down, than a draught, which might be fairly and leisurely drank, if I liked it.

I will not justifie beyond humane errors and frailties, My self, or My Counsellors: They might be subject to some miscarriages, yet such, as were far more reparable by second and better thoughts, than those enormous extravagances, wherewith some men have now even wildred, and almost quite lost both Church and State.

The event of things, at last, will make it evident to My Subjects, That had I followed the worst counsels, that My worst Counsellors ever had the boldness to offer to Me, or My self any inclination to use, I could not so soon have brought both Church and State in three flourishing Kingdoms, to such a *Chaos* of confusions, and Hell of miseries, as some have done; out of which they cannot, or will not, in the midst of their many great advantages, redeem either Me or My Subjects.

No men were more willing to complain, than I was to redress, what I saw in Reason was either done or advised amiss; and this I thought

I had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men: who were sorry to see Me prone even to injure My self, out of a Zeal to relieve My Subjects.

But other mens insatiable desire of revenge upon Me, My Court, and My Clergy, hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all My, either Retractations, or Concessions; and withal, hath deprived all those (now so zealous Persecutors) both of the comfort and reward of their former pretended Persecutions, wherein they so much gloryed among the vulgar; and which, indeed, a truly humble Christian will so highly prize, as rather not be relieved, then be revenged, so as to be bereaved of that Crown of Christian Patience, which attends humble and injured sufferers.

Another artifice used to withdraw My Peoples affections from Me, to their designs, was, The noise and ostentation of Liberty, which men are not more prone to desire, then unapt to bear in the popular sense; which is to do what every man liketh best.

If the divinest Liberty be, to will what men should, and to do what they so will, according Reason, Laws and Religion; I envy not My Subjects that Liberty, which is all I desire to enjoy My self; So far am I from the desire of oppressing theirs: Nor were those Lords and Gentlemen which assisted Me, so prodigal of their liberties, as with their Lives and Fortunes to help on
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the enslaving of themselves and their posterities.

As to Civil Immunities, none but such as desire to drive on their Ambitious and Covetous Designs, over the Ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peers and People, will ever desire greater Freedoms then the Laws allow; whose bounds good men count their Ornament and Protection, others their Menacles and Oppression.

Nor is it just any man should expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who despiseth his rule and direction; losing justly his Safety, while he seeks an unreasonable Liberty.

Time will best inform My Subjects, That those are the best preservers of their true Liberties, who allow themselves the least licentiousness against, or beyond the Laws.

They will feel it at last to their cost, That it is impossible those men should be really tender of their fellow-Subjects Liberties, who have the hardiness to use their King with so severe restraints, against all Laws, both Divine and Humane; under which, yet, I will rather perish, then complain to those, who want nothing to compleat their mirth and triumph, but such Musick.

In point of true conscientious tenderness (attended with humility and meekness, not with proud and arrogant activity, which seeks to hatch every egge of different opinion to a Faction or Schism) I have oft declared, how little I desire My Laws and Scepter should intrench on Gods Sovereignty, which is the onely King of mens

Consciences; and yet he hath laid such restraints upon men, as commands them to be subject for Conscience sake, giving no men liberty to break the Law established, further then with meekness and patience they are content to suffer the penalties annexed, rather then perturb the publique Peace.

The truth is, some mens thirst after Noveltyes, others despair to relieve the necessities of their Fortunes, or satisfie their Ambition, in peaceable times, (distrusting Gods Providence, as well as their own Merits) were the secret (but principal) impulsives to these popular Commo-tions, by which Subjects have been perswaded to expend much of those plentiful Estates they got and enjoyed under My Government, in peaceable times; which yet must now be blasted with all the odious reproaches, which impotent malice can invent; and My self exposed to all those contempts, which may most diminish the Majesty of a King, and encrease the ungrateful Insolences of My People.

For Mine Honor, I am well assured, That as Mine Innocency is clear before God, in point of any calumnies they object; so My reputation shall, like the Sun, (after Owls and Bats have had their freedom in the night and darker times) rise and recover it self to such a degree of splendor, as those feral Birds shall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear. For never were any Princes more glorious, than those whom
God

God hath suffer'd to be tried in the furnace of afflictions, by their injurious Subjects.

And, who knows but the just and merciful God will do Me good, for some mens hard, false, and evil speeches against Me: wherein they speak rather what they wish, than what they believe or know.

Nor can I suffer so much in point of Honor, by those rude and scandalous Pamphlets (which like fire in great conflagrations, flie up and down to set all places on like flames) than those men do, who pretending to so much piety, are so forgetful of their duty to God and Me: By no way ever vindicating the Majesty of their KING against any of those, who contrary to the precept of God, and precedent of Angels, *speakevil of dignities; and bring railing accusations against those, who are honored with the name of Gods.*

But 'tis no wonder if men not fearing God, should not Honor their KING.

They will easily contemn such shadows of God, who reverence not that Supreme and adorable Majesty, in comparison of whom, all the glory of Men and Angels is but obscurity; yet hath he graven such Characters of divine Authority, and Sacred power upon Kings, as none may, without sin, seek to blot them out. Nor shall their black veils be able to hide the shining of My face, while God gives Me a heart frequently and humbly to converse with him, from whom alone are all the traditions of true glory and majesty.

Thou,

Thou, O Lord, knowest my reproach, and my dishonor, my adversaries are all before thee.

My soul is among Lyons, among them that are set on fire, even the sons of men; whose teeth are spears and arrows; their tongue a sharp sword.

Mine enemies reproach me all the day long, and those that are mad against me are sworn together.

O my God, how long shall the sons of men turn my glory into shame? how long shall they love vanity, and seek after lies?

Thou hast heard the reproaches of wicked men on every side. Hold not thy peace, lest my enemies prevail against me, and lay mine honor in the dust.

Thou, O Lord, shalt destroy them that speak lies; the Lord will abhor both the blood-thirsty, and deceitful men.

Make my righteousness to appear as the light, and mine innocency to shine forth as the sun at noon day.

Suffer not my silence to betray mine innocence, nor my displeasure, my patience; That after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile again; and being cursed by them, I may bless them.

Thou that wouldst not suffer Shimei's tongue to go unpunished, when by thy judgements on David he might seem to justify his disdainful reproaches; Give me grace to intercede with thy mercy for these my enemies, that the reward of false and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternal fire, may not be brought upon them.

Let

Let my prayers, and patience, be as water to cool and quench their tongues, who are already set on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with those malicious flames.

Let me be happy to refute, and put to silence their evil-speaking by well-doing; and let them enjoy not the fruit of their lips, but of my prayer, for their repentance, and thy pardon.

Teach me Davids patience, and Hezekiah's devotion, that I may look to thy mercy through mans malice, and see thy justice in their sin.

Let Sheba's seditious speeches, Rabshakeh's railing, and Shimei's cursing, provoke, as my humble prayer to thee, so thy renewed blessing toward me.

Though they curse, do thou bless, and I shall be blessed; and made a blessing to my people.

That the stone, which some builders refuse, may become the head stone of the corner.

Look down from heaven, and save me from the reproach of them that would swallow me up.

Hide me in the secret of thy presence, from the pride of man; and keep me from the strife of tongues.

XVI. Upon the Ordinance against the Common-Prayer-Book.

IT is no news to have all Innovations ushered in with the Name of Reformations in Church and State, by those, who seeking to gain

gain reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinary parts and piety, must needs undo whatever was formerly settled never so well and wisely.

So hardly can the pride of those that study Novelties, allow former times any share or degree of wisdom or godliness.

And because matter of prayer and devotion to God justly bears a great part in Religion, (being the Souls more immediate converse with the divine Majesty) nothing could be more plausible to the People, than to tell them, They served God amiss in that point.

Hence our publique Liturgy, or Forms of constant Prayers, must be (not amended, in what upon free and publique advice might seem to sober men inconvenient for matter or maner, to which I should easily consent, but) wholly cashiered and abolished; and after many popular contempts offered to the Book, and those that used it according to their Consciences, and the Laws in force, it must be crucified by an Ordinance, the better to please either those men, who gloried in their extemporary vein and fluency: or others, who conscious to their own formality in the use of it, thought they fully expiated their sin of not using it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a total rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuse the deadness of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Book, sober and learned men have sufficiently vindicated it against the cavils and exceptions of those, who thought

thought it a part of piety, to make what profane objections they could against it; especially for Popery and Superstition; whereas no doubt the Liturgy was exactly conformed to the doctrine of the Church of *England*; and this by all Reformed Churches is confessed to be most sound and Orthodox.

For the maner of using Set and Prescribed Forms, there is no doubt, but that wholesom words being known and fitted to mens understandings, are soonest received into their hearts, and aptest to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Not do I see any reason why Christians should be weary of a well-composed Liturgy (as I hold this to be) more than of all other things, wherein the constancy abates nothing of the excellency and usefulness.

I could never see any Reason, why any Christian should abhor, or be forbidden to use the same Forms of Prayer, since he prays to the same God, believes in the same Saviour, professeth the same Truths, reads the same Scriptures, hath the same duties upon him, and feels the same daily wants for the most part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure we may as well before-hand know what we pray, as to whom we pray; and in what words, as to what sense; when we desire the same things, what hinders we may not use the same words?

words : our appetite and digestion too may be good when we use, as we pray for, *our daily bread*.

Some men, I hear, are so impatient not to use in all their devotions their own invention and gifts, that they not onely disuse (as too many) but wholly cast away and condemn the *Lords Prayer* ; whose great guilt is, that it is the warrant and original patern of all set Liturgies in the Christian Church.

I ever thought, that the proud ostentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vain affectations of variety for expressions, in Publique prayer, or any sacred administrations, merits a greater brand of sin, than that which they call Coldness and Barrenness : Nor are men in those novelties less subject to formal and superficial tempers (as to their hearts) than in the use of constant Forms, where not the words, but mens hearts are too blame.

I make no doubt but a man may be very formal in the most extemporary variety ; and very fervently devout in the most wonted expressions : Nor is God more a God of variety, than of constancy : Nor are constant Forms of Prayers more likely to flat, and hinder the Spirit of prayer and devotion, than un-premeditated and confused variety, to distract and lose it.

Though I am not against a grave, modest, discreet, and humble use of Ministers gifts, even in publique, the better to fit, and excite their own and the Peoples affections to the present occasions ;

sions; yet I know no necessity why private and single abilities should quite juttle out, and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities and concurrent gifts of many learned and godly men; such as the Composers of the Service-Book were; who may in all reason be thought to have more of gifts and graces enabling them to compose, with serious deliberation and concurrent advice, such Forms of prayers, as may best fit the Churches common wants, inform the Hearers understanding, and stir up that fiduciary and fervent application of their spirits (wherein consists the very life and soul of prayer, and that so much pretended Spirit of prayer) than any private man by his solitary abilities can be presumed to have; which, what they are many times (even there, where they make a great noise and shew) the affectations, emptiness, impertinency, rudeness, confusions, flatness, levity, obscurity, vain and ridiculous repetitions, the senseless, and oft-times blasphemous expressions; all these, burthened with a most tedious and intolerable length, do sufficiently convince all men, but those who glory in that Pharisaick way.

Wherein men must be strangely impudent, and flatterers of themselves, not to have an infinite shame of what they so do and say, in things of so sacred a nature, before God and the Church, after so ridiculous, and indeed, profane a maner.

Nor can it be expected, but that in duties of frequent

quent performance, as Sacramental administrations, and the like, which are still the same; Ministers must either come to use their own Forms constantly, which are not like to be so sound, or comprehensive of the nature of the duty; as Forms of Publique compofure; or else they must every time affect new expressions, when the subject is the same; which can hardly be presumed in any mans greatest sufficiencies, not to want (many times) much of that compleatness, order and gravity becoming those duties, which by this means are exposed at every celebration, to every Ministers private infirmities, indispositions, errors, disorders and defects, both for judgement and expression.

A serious sense of which inconvenience in the Church, unavoidably following every mans several manner of officiating, no doubt, first occasioned the wisdom and piety of the Ancient Churches, to remedy those mischiefs, by the use of constant Liturgies of Publique compofure.

The want of which, I believe, this Church will sufficiently feel, when the unhappy fruits of many mens un-governed ignorance, and confident defects, shall be discovered in more errors, schisms, disorders, and uncharitable distractions in Religion, which are already but too many, the more is the pity.

However, if violence must needs bring in, and abet those innovations, (that men may not seem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reason, and Religion

Religion forbids, at least to be so obtruded, as wholly to juggle out the publique Liturgy.

Yet nothing can excuse that most unjust and partial severity of those men, who either lately had subscribed to, used and maintained the Service-book; or refused to use it, cryed out of the rigor of Laws and Bishops, which suffered them not to use the liberty of their consciences, in not using it.

That these men (I say) should so suddenly change the Liturgy into a Directory, as if the Spirit needed help for invention, though not for expressions; or as if matter prescribed did not as much stint and obstruct the Spirit, as if it were cloathed in, and confined to fit words: (So slight and easie is that Legerdemain which will serve to delude the vulgar.)

That further, they should use such severity, as not to suffer without penalty, any to use the Common-prayer-Book publicquely, although their consciences binde them to it, as a duty of Piety to God, and Obedience to the Laws.

Thus I see, no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upon others to conform to their illegal novelties, then such, whose pride was formerly least disposed to the obedience of lawful constitutions; and whose licentious humors most pretended conscientious liberties; which freedom, with much regret they now allow to Me and My Chaplains, when they may have leave to serve Me, whose

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abilities,

abilities, even in other extemporary way, comes not short of the others, but their modesty and learning far exceeds the most of them.

But this matter is of so popular a nature, as some men knew it would not bear learned and sober debates, lest being convinced by the evidence of Reason, as well as Laws, they should have been driven either to sin more against their knowledge, by taking away the Liturgy; or to displease some Faction of the People, by continuing the use of it.

Though I believe they have offended more considerable men, not onely for their numbers and estates, but for their weighty and judicious piety, than those are, whose weakness or giddiness they sought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greatest faults some men found with the Common-Prayer-Book, I believe, was this, That it taught them to pray so oft for Me; to which Petitions they had not Loyalty enough to say *Amen*, nor yet Charity enough to forbear Reproaches, and even Cursings of Me in their own Forms, in stead of praying for Me.

I wish their Repentance may be their onely punishment; that seeing the mischiefs which the disuse of publique Liturgies hath already produced, they may restore that credit, use, and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches were given to Set Forms of sound and wholefom words.

*And thou, O Lord, which art the same God,
blessed*

bleſſed for ever: whoſe mercies are full of variety, and yet of conſtancy; Thou denyeſt us not a new and freſh ſence of our old and daily wants, nor deſpiſeſt renewed affections joyned to conſtant expreſſions.

Let us not want the benefit of thy Churches united and well-adviced Devotions.

Let the matters of our prayers be agreeable to thy will, which is always the ſame, and the fervency of our ſpirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us.

And then we doubt not, but thy ſpiritual perfections are ſuch, as thou art neither to be pleaſed with affected Novelties for matter or maner, nor offended with the pious conſtancy of our petitions in them both.

Whoſe variety or conſtancy thou haſt no where either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the piety and prudence of thy Church, that both may be uſed, neither deſpiſed.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgements in matters of Religion; that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly uſe, to help their infirmities.

And ſince the advantage of Error conſiſts in novelty and variety, as Truths in unity and conſtancy: Suffer not thy Church to be peſtered with errors, and deformed with undecencies in thy ſervice, under the pretence of variety and novelty. Nor to be deprived of truth, unity and order,

der, under this fallacy, That constancy is the cause of formality.

Lord, keep us from formal Hypocrisie in our own hearts, and then we know that praying to thee, or praising of thee (with David and other holy men) in the same forms cannot hurt us.

Give us wisdom to amend what is amiss within us, and there will be less to mend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blinde Zeal, and over-bold devotion.

XVII. Of the differences between the KING and the two Houses, in point of Church-Government.

Touching the GOVERNMENT of the Church by Bishops, the common Jealousie hath been, That I am earnest and resolute to maintain it, not so much out of piety, as policy, and reason of State.

Wherein so far indeed reason of State doth induce Me to approve that Government above any other, as I finde it impossible for a Prince to preserve the State in quiet, unless he hath such an influence upon Church-men, and they such a dependance on Him, as may best restrain the seditious exorbitancies of Ministers tongues; who with the Keys of Heaven have so far the Keys of the Peoples hearts, as they prevail much by their Oratory, to let in or shut out, both Peace and Loyalty.

So that I being (as KING) intrusted by God,
and

and the Laws, with the good both of Church and State; I see no reason I should give up, or weaken by any change, that power and influence which in right and reason I ought to have over both.

The moving Bishops out of the House of Peers (of which I have elsewhere given an account) was sufficient to take off any suspicion, that I encline to them for any use to be made of their Votes in State-affairs: Though indeed I never thought any Bishop worthy to sit in that House, who would not Vote according to his conscience.

I must now in charity be thought desirous to preserve that Government in its right constitution, as a matter of Religion, wherein both My judgement is fully satisfied, that it hath of all other the fullest Scripture grounds, and also the constant practice of all Christian Churches; till of late years, the tumultuariness of people, or the factiousness and pride of Presbyters, or the covetousness of some States and Princes, gave occasion to some mens wits to invent new models, and propose them under specious titles, of *Christs Government, Scepter, and Kingdom*; the better to serve their turns, to whom the change was beneficial.

They must give Me leave, having none of their temptations to invite Me to alter the Government of Bishops (that I may have a title to their Estates) not to believe their pretended

grounds to any new ways: contrary to the full and constant testimony of all Histories, sufficiently convincing unbiassed men; that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly governed by the Apostles and their immediate Successors, the first and best Bishops; so it cannot in reason or charity be supposed, that all Churches in the world should either be ignorant of the rule by them prescribed, or so soon deviate from their divine and holy patern: That since the first age, for 1500 years, not one Example can be produced of any settled Church, wherein were many Ministers and Congregations, which had not some Bishop above them, under whose jurisdiction and government they were.

Whose constant and universal practice agreeing with so large and evident Scripture-Directi-
 ons and Examples, are set down in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, for the settling of that Government, not in the persons onely of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the succession; (the want of Government being that, which the Church can no more dispense with, in point of well-being, then the want of the Word and Sacraments, in point of being.)

I wonder how men came to look with so envious an eye upon Bishops power and authority, as to oversee both the Ecclesiastical use of them, and Apostolical constitution: which to Me seems no less evidently set forth, as to the main scope and design of those Epistles, for the settling

setting of a peculiar Office, Power and Authority in them, as President-Bishops above others, in point of Ordination, Censures, and other acts of Ecclesiastical Discipline; then those shorter characters of the qualities and duties of Presbyter-Bishops, and Deacons, are described in some parts of the same Epistles; who in the latitude and community of the name were then, and may now, not improperly be call'd *Bishops*, as to the oversight and care of single Congregations, committed to them by the Apostles, or those Apostolical Bishops, who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*) succeeded them in that ordinary power, there assigned over larger divisions, in which were many Presbyters.

The humility of those first Bishops avoiding the eminent title of Apostles, as a name in the Churches stile, appropriated from its common notion (*of a Messenger, or one sent*) to that special dignity which had extraordinary call, mission, gifts, and power immediately from Christ: they contented themselves with the ordinary titles of Bishops and Presbyters, until use (the great arbitrator of words, and master of language) finding reason to distinguish by a peculiar name, those persons, whose power and office were indeed distinct from, and above all other in the Church, as succeeding the Apostles in the ordinary and constant power of governing the Churches, the honor of (whose name they moderately, yet commendably declined) all

Christian Churches (submitting to that special authority) appropriated also the name of *Bishop*, without any suspicion or reproach of arrogancy, to those, who were by Apostolical propagation rightly descended and invested into that highest and largest power, of governing even the most pure and Primitive Churches; which, without all doubt, had many such holy Bishops, after the pattern of *Timothy* and *Titus*, whose special power is not more clearly set down in those Epistles (the chief grounds and limits of all Episcopal claim, as from Divine Right) then are the characters of these perilous times, and those men that make them such, who not enduring sound Doctrine, and clear testimonies of all Churches practice, are most perverse Disputers, and proud Usurpers against true Episcopacy: who, if they be not Traytors and Boasters, yet they seem to be very covetous, heady, high-minded, inordinate and fierce, lovers of themselves, having much of the form, little of the power of godliness.

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light and unlearned Teachers, seek to over-lay and smother the pregnancy and authority of that power of Episcopal Government; which, beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacy of names, is most convincingly set forth, both by Scripture, and all after Histories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, than a Prince, that Posterity may see (if ever these Pa-

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perſe be publique) that I had fair grounds both from Scripture-Ganons, and Eccleſiaſtical Examples, whereon My judgement was ſtated for Episcopall Government.

Nor was it any policy of State, or obſtiniacy of will, or partiality of affection, either to the men or their Function which fixed Me: who cannot in point of worldly reſpects be ſo conſiderable to Me, as to recompence the injuries and loſſes, I and My deareſt relations with My Kingdoms, have ſuſtained and hazarded, chiefly at firſt upon this quarrel.

And not onely in Religion, of which, Scripture is the beſt rule, and the Churches Univerſal practiſe the beſt commentary, but alſo in right reaſon, and the true nature of Government, it cannot be thought that an orderly Subordination among Preſbyters, or Miniſters, ſhould be any more againſt Chriſtianity, then it is in all ſecular and civil Governments, where parity breeds Confuſion and Faction.

I can no more believe, that ſuch order is inconfiſtent with true Religion, then good features are with beauty, or numbers with harmony.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed ſeveral orders, and a Prelacy, in the Government of his Church, among the Jewiſh Priests, ſhould abhor or forbid them among Chriſtian Miniſters, who have as much of the principles of ſchiſm and diviſion, as other men, for preventing and ſuppreſſing of which, the Apoſtolical wiſdom

wisdom (which was divine) after that Christians were multiplied so many Congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this way of Government, which might best preserve order and union with Authority.

So that I conceive it was not the favor of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wisdom and piety of the Apostles, that first settled Bishops in the Church, which Authority they constantly used, and enjoyed in those times, which were purest for Religion, though sharpest for Persecution.

Not that I am against the managing of this Presidency and Authority in one man, by the joynt Counsel and consent of many Presbyters: I have offered to restore that, as a fit means to avoid those Errors, Corruptions, and Partialities, which are incident to any one man; Also to avoid Tyranny, which becomes no Christians, least of all Church-men; besides, it will be a means to take away that burthen, and odium of affairs, which may lie too heavy on one mans shoulders, as indeed I think it formerly did on the Bishops here.

Not can I see what can be more agreeable both to Reason and Religion, then such a frame of Government which is paternal, not Magisterial, and wherein not onely the necessity of avoiding Faction and Confusion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to arise among equals in power and function, but also the differences

rences of some Ministers gifts, and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to imploy them, in reference to those Abilities, wherein they are Eminent.

Nor is this judgement of Mine touching Episcopacy, any pre-occupation of opinion, which will not admit any oppositions against it: It is well known I have endeavored to satisfie My self in what the chief Patrons for other ways can say against this, or for theirs: And I finde they have as far less of Scripture grounds, and of Reason, so for examples, and practice of the Church, or testimonies of Histories, they are wholly destitute, wherein the whole stream runs so for Episcopacy, that there is not the least rivulet for any others.

As for those obtruded examples of some late reformed Churches, (for many retain Bishops still) whom necessity of times and affairs rather excuseth, then commendeth for their inconformity to all Antiquity; I could never see any reason, why Churches orderly reformed and governed by Bishops, should be forced to conform to those few, rather then to the Catholick example of all Ancient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And to those Churches at this day, who, Governed by Bishops in all the Christian world, are many more then Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to be; All whom the Churches in My three Kingdoms lately Governed by Bishops, would equalize (I think) if not exceed,

Nor

10 Non isq[ue] any point of wisdom or charity, where Christians differ, (as many do in some points) there to widen the differences; and at once to give all the Christian world (except a handful of some Protestants) so great a scandal in point of Church-government; whom, though you may convince of their Errors in some points of Doctrine, yet you shall never persuade them, that to compleat their Reformation, they must necessarily desert, and wholly cast off that Government, which they and all before them, have ever owned as Catholick, Primitive, and Apostolical: So far, that never Schismatics, nor Hereticks (except those Arrians) have strayed from the Unity and Conformity of the Church, in that point; ever having Bishops above Presbyters.

20 Besides, the late general approbation and submission to this Government of Bishops, by the Clergy, as well as the Laity of these Kingdoms, is a great confirmation of My Judgement; and their inconstancy is a great prejudice against their novelty; I cannot in charity so far doubt of their learning or integrity, as if they understood not what heretofore they did, or that they did conform contrary to their Consciences: So that their facility and levity is never to be excused, who, before ever the point of Church-government had any free and impartial debate, contrary to their former Oathes and Practice, against their obediences to the Laws in force, and
against

against My consent, have not onely quite cryed down the Government by Bishops, but have approved and incouraged the violent and most illegal stripping all the Bishops, and many other Church-men, of all their due Authority and Revenues, even to the selling away, and utter alienation of those Church-lands from any Ecclesiastical uses: So great a power hath the stream of times, and the prevalency of parties over some mens judgements; of whose so sudden and so total change, little reason can be given, besides the Scots Army coming into England.

But the folly of these men will at last punish it self, and the Desertors of Episcopacy will appear the greatest Enemies to, and Betrayers of their own interest: for Presbytery is never so considerable, or effectual, as when it is joyned to, and crowned with Episcopacy. All Ministers will finde as great a difference in point of thriving, between the favor of the People, and of Princes, as plants do between being watered by hand, or by the sweet and liberal dews of Heaven.

The reuility and contempt of Clergy-men will soon let them see, what a poor carcase they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whose Supremacy they have been sworn.

A little moderation might have prevented great mischiefs; I am firm to Primitive Episcopacy, not to have it extirpated, (if I can hinder it.) Discretion without passion might easily reform,

form, whatever the rust of times, or indulgence of Laws, or corruption of maners have brought upon it. It being a gross vulgar error to impute to, or revenge upon the Function, the faults of times, or persons, which seditious and popular principle, and practise, all wise men abhor.

For those secular additaments and ornaments of Authority, Civil Honor and Estate, which My Predecessors, and Christian Princes, in all Countries have annexed to Bishops and Church-men, I look upon them, but as just rewards of their learning, and piety, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-Government; also enablements to works of Charity and Hospitality, meet strengthenings of their Authority in point of respect and observance; which in peaceful times is hardly payed to any Governors by the measure of their vertues, so much, as by that of their Estates; Poverty and meanness exposing them and their Authority to the contempt of licentious mindes and maners, which persecuting Times much restrained.

I would have such men Bishops, as are most worthy of those encouragements, and best able to use them: if at any time My judgement of men failed, My good intention made My error venial: And some Bishops, I am sure I had, whose learning, gravity, and piety, no men of any worth or forehead can deny: But, of all men, I would have Church-men, especially the Governors, to be redeemed from that vulgar neglect;

lect; which (besides an innate principle of virtuous opposition, which is in all men against those that seem to reprove, or restrain them) will necessarily follow both the Presbyterian parity, which makes all Ministers equal; and the Independent inferiority, which sets their Pastors below the People.

This for My judgement touching Episcopacy, wherein (God knows) I do not gratifie any design or passion with the least perverting of Truth.

And now I appeal to God above, and all the Christian world, whether it be just for Subjects, or pious for Christians, by violence, and infinite indignities, with servile restraints to seek to force Me their KING and Sovereign, as some men have endeavored to do, against all these grounds of My Judgement, to consent to their weak and divided novelties.

The greatest Pretender of them desires not more than I do, That the Church should be governed, as Christ hath appointed, in true Reason, and in Scripture; of which, I could never see any probable shew for any other ways: who either content themselves with the examples of some Churches, in their infancy and solitude; when one Presbyter might serve one Congregation, in a City or Countrey; or else they deny these most evident Truths, That the Apostles were Bishops over those Presbyters they ordained, as well as over the Churches they planted; and that, Government being necessary for the Churches well-being,

being, when multiplied and sociated, must necessarily descend from the Apostles to others, after the example of that power and superiority they had above others; which could not end with their persons, since the use and ends of such Government still continue.

It is most sure, that the purest Primitive and best Churches flourished under Episcopacy; and may so still, if ignorance, superstition, avarice, revenge, and other disorderly and disloyal passions had not so blown up some mens mindes against it, that what they want of Reasons or Primitive Paterns, they supply with violence and oppression; wherein some mens zeal for Bishops Lands, Houses and Revenues, hath set them on work to eat up Episcopacy: which (however other men esteem) to Me is no less sin, than Sacrilege; or a robbery of G O D (the giver of all we have) of that portion which devout mindes have thankfully given again to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets; through whose hands he graciously accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himself.

Furthermore, as to My particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable to My judgement, I am solemnly obliged to preserve that Government, and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulness of the Function, as Antichristian, (which some men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could soon, with Judgement, break that Oath, which erroneously was taken by Me.

But

But being daily by the best disquisition of Truth, more confirmed in the Reason and Religion of that, to which I am Sworn; How can any man that wisheth not My damnation, perswade Me at once to so notorious and combined sins of Sacrilege and Perjury? besides the many personal Injustices I must do to many worthy men, who are as legally invested in their Estates, as any who seek to deprive them; and they have by no Law, been convicted of those crimes, which might forfeit their Estates and Livelyhoods.

I have oft wondred, how men pretending to tenderness of Conscience, and Reformation, can at once tell Me, That My Coronation Oath bindes Me to Consent to whatsoever they shall propound to Me (which they urge with such Violence) though contrary to all that Rational and Religious Freedom which every man ought to preserve, and of which they seem so tender in their own Votes; yet at the same time these men will needs perswade Me, That I must, and ought to dispence with, and roundly break that part of My Oath, which bindes Me (agreeable to the best light of Reason and Religion I have) to maintain the Government, and legal Rights of the Church. 'Tis strange My lot should be valid in that part, which both My self, and all men in their own case, esteem injurious and unreasonable, as being against the very natural and essential liberty of

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our souls; yet it should be invalid, and to be broken in another clause, wherein I think My self justly obliged both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held so long, by somemens ambitious covetousness, and sacrilegious cruelty; torturing (with Me) both Church and State, in Civil dissensions, till I shall be forced to consent, and declare that I do approve, what (God knows) I utterly dislike, and in My Soul abhor, as many ways highly against Reason, Justice and Religion: and whereto, if I should shamefully and dishonorably give My consent, yet should I not by so doing, satisfy the divided Interests and Opinions of those Parties, which contend with each other, as well as both against Me and Episcopacy.

Nor can My late condescending to the Scots in point of Church-Government, be rightly objected against Me, as an inducement for Me, to consent to the like in My other Kingdoms; for it should be considered, that Episcopacy was not so rooted and settled there, as 'tis here; nor I (in that respect) so strictly bound to continue it in that Kingdom as in this; for what I think in My judgement best, I may not think so absolutely necessary for all places, and at all times.

If any shall impute My yielding to them, as My failing and sin, I can easily acknowledge it; but that is no argument to do so again, or much worse, I being now more convinced
in

in that point: nor indeed hath My yielding to them been so happy and successful, as to incourage Me to grant the like to others.

Did I see any thing more of Christ, as to Meekness, Justice, Order, Charity and Loyalty, in those that pretend to other modes of Government, I might suspect my judgement to be byased or fore-stalled with some prejudice and wontedness of Opinion; but I have hitherto so much cause to suspect the contrary in the maners of many of those men, that I cannot from them gain the least reputation for their new ways of Government.

Nor can I finde that in any Reformed Churches (whose patens are so cryed up, and obtruded upon the Churches under My Dominion) that either Learning or Religion, works of Piety or Charity, have so flourished beyond what they have done in My Kingdoms (by Gods blessing) which might make Me believe either Presbytery or Independency have a more benign influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, than Episcopacy in its right constitution.

The abuses of which, deserve to be extirpated as much as the use retained; for I think it far better to hold to Primitive and Uniform Antiquity, than to comply with divided Novelty.

A right Episcopacy would at once satisfie all just desires and interests of good Bishops, humble Presbyters, and sober People; so as Church

affairs should be managed neither with tyranny, parity, nor popularity; neither Bishops ejected, nor Presbyters despised, nor People oppressed. And in this integrity both of My Judgement and Conscience, I hope God will preserve Me.

For thou, O Lord, knowest my uprightness, and tenderness; as thou hast set me to be a Defender of the Faith, and a Protector of thy Church, so suffer me not by any violence, to be overborn against my Conscience.

Arise, O Lord, maintain thine own Cause, let not thy Church be deformed, as to that Government, which derived from thy Apostles, hath been retained in purest and primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of secular envy; which seeks to rob it of all the encouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make me, as the good Samaritan, compassionate and helpful to thy afflicted Church; which some men have wounded and robbed, others pass by, without regard either to pity or relieve.

As my power is from thee, so give me grace to use it for thee.

And though I am not suffered to be Master of my other Rights as a KING, yet preserve me in that liberty of Reason, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in my Conscience as a Christian.

Preserve, from sacrilegious invasions, those temporal blessings, which thy providence hath bestowed on thy Church for thy glory.

For-

Forgive their sins and errors, who have deserved thy just permission, thus to let in the wilde Boar, and subtile Foxes, to waste and deform thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven so long watered to a happy and flourishing estate.

Ο let me not bear the infamous brand, to all posterity, of being the first Christian KING in this Kingdom, who should consent to the oppression of thy Church, and the Fathers of it; whose errors I would rather, with Constantine, cover with silence, and reform with meekness, than expose their persons, and sacred Functions, to vulgar contempt.

Thou, O Lord, seest how much I have suffered with, and for thy Church; make no long tarrying, O my God, to deliver both me and it from unreasonable men, whose counsels have brought forth, and continue such violent confusions, by a precipitant destroying the ancient boundaries of thy Churches Peace, thereby letting in all manner of errors, schisms and disorders.

O thou God of Order, and of Truth, in thy good time abate the malice, assuage the rage; and confound all the mischievous devices of thine, mine, and thy Churches enemies.

That I, and all that love thy Church, may sing praises to thee, and ever magnifie thy salvation, even before the sons of men.

XVIII. *Upon Uxbridge-Treaty, and other Offers made by the KING.*

I Look upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beasts, to arguing like Men, whose strength should be more in their understandings, than in their limbs.

And though I could seldom get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire or disposition to it, having greater confidence of My Reason, than My sword: I was so wholly resolved to yield to the first, that I thought neither My self, nor others, should need to use the second, if once we rightly understood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of Me, to prevent them with Expresses of My desires, and even importunities to Treat: It being an office, not onely of humanity, rather to use Reason, than Force; but also of Christianity, to *seek peace and ensue it.*

As I am very unwillingly compelled to defend My self with Arms, so I very willingly embraced any thing tending to Peace.

The events of all War by the Sword being very dubious, and of a Civil War uncomfortable; the end hardly recompencing, and late repairing the mischief of the means.

Nor did any success I had, ever enhaunce with Me the price of Peace, as earnestly desired by

by Me as any man; though I was like to pay dearer for it than any man: All that I sought to reserve was, Mine Honor, and My Conscience; the one I could not part with as a KING, the other as a Christian.

The Treary at *Uxbridge* gave the fairest hopes of an happy composure; had others applyed themselves to it with the same moderation as I did, I am confident the War had then ended.

I was willing to condescend, as far as Reason, Honor and Conscience would give Me leave; nor were the remaining differences so essential to My Peoples happiness, or of such consequence, as in the least kinde to have hindred My Subjects either security or prosperity; for they better enjoyed both, many years before ever those demands were made; some of which, to deny, I think the greatest Justice to My self, and Favor to My Subjects.

I see, Jealousies are not so easily allayed, as they are raised: Some men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements, than to Engage; what is wanting in equity, must be made up in pertinacy. Such as had little to enjoy in peace, or to lose in war, studied to render the very name of *Peace* odious and suspected.

In Church affairs, where I had least liberty of prudence, having so many strict ties of Conscience upon Me; yet I was willing to condescend so far to the settling of them, as might have given fair satisfaction to all men,

whom faction, covetousness or superstition, had not engaged more, than any true zeal, charity, or love of Reformation.

I was content to yield to all that might seem to advance true piety; I onely sought to continue what was necessary in point of Order, Maintenance, and Authority, to the Churches Government; and what I am perswaded (as I have elsewhere set down My thoughts more fully) is most agreeable to the true Principles of all Government, raised to its full stature and perfection; as also to the primitive Apostolical pattern, and the practice of the Universal Church conform thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without any probable reason urged or answered, onely to satisfy some mens wills and fantasies (which yet agree not among themselves in any point, but that of extirpating Episcopacy, and fighting against Me) must needs argue such a softness, and infirmity of minde in Me, as will rather part with Gods Truth, than Mans Peace; and rather lose the Churches honor, than cross some mens Factious humors.

God knows, and time will discover, who were most to blame for the un-successfulness of that Treaty, and who must bear the guilt of after-calamities. I believe, I am very excusable both before God, and all unpassionate men, who have seriously weighed those transactions, wherein I endeavored no less the restoration of
Peace

Peace to My people, than the preservation of My own Crowns to My Posterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all fair Condescendings, as Arguments of feebleness, and glory most in an unflexible stiffness, when they see others most supple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxime with them was, always to ask something, which in reason and honor must be denied, that they might have some colour to refuse all that was in other things granted; setting Peace at as high a rate, as the worst effects of War; endeavoring first to make Me destroy My self by dishonorable Concessions, that so they might have the less to do.

This was all which that Treaty, or any other produced, to let the world see, how little I would deny, or they grant, in order to the Publique peace.

That it gave occasion to some mens further restiveness, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to any Concessions or Negations of Mine: I have always the content of what I offered, and they the regret and blame for what they refused.

The highest tide of success set Me not above a Treaty, nor the lowest ebbe below a Fight: Though I never thought it any sign of true valor, to be prodigal of mens lives, rather than to be drawn to produce our own reasons, or subscribe to other mens.



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That which made Me for the most part pre-
sage the unsuccessfulness of any Treaty, was, some
mens unwillingness to Treat: which implied
some things were to be gained by the Sword,
whose unreasonableness they were loath to have
fairly scanned, being more proper to be acted by
Soldiers, than by Counsellors.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of
that Treaties breaking; and give them grace to
make their advantages gotten by the Sword, a
better opportunity to use such moderation, as
was then wanting; that so, though Peace were
for our sins justly deferred, yet at last it may be
happily obtain'd; what we could not get by our
Treaties, we may gain by our Prayers.

*O Thou, that art the God of Reason, and of
Peace, who disdainest not to Treat with Sinners,
preventing them with offers of atonement, and
beseeching them to be reconciled with thy self:
who waniest not power, or justice, to destroy them;
yet aboundest in mercy to save: soften our hearts
by the blood of our Redeemer, and perswade us to
accept of Peace with thy self, and both to procure
and preserve peace among our selves, as Men and
Christians; How oft have I intreated for Peace,
but when I speak thereof, they make them ready
to War?*

*Condemn us not to our passions, which are de-
structive, both of our selves, and of others.*

Clear up our understandings, to see thy truth, both
in

*in Reason, as Men; and in Religion, as Christi-
ans: and encline all our hearts to hold the unity
of the Spirit, in the bond of Peace.*

*Take from us that enmity which is now in our
hearts against thee: and give us that charity
which should be among our selves.*

*Remove the evils of War we have deserved,
and bestow upon us that Peace, which onely Christ
our great Peace-maker can merit.*

XIX. *Upon the various events of the War; Vi-
ctories, and Defeats.*

THe various Successes of this unhappy
war, have at least, afforded Me variety of
good Meditations: sometimes God was
pleased to try Me with Victory, by worsting My
Enemies, that I might know how with modera-
tion and thanks to own, and use his power, who
is onely the true *Lord of Hosts*; able when he
pleases to repress the confidence of those, that
fought against Me, with so great advantages for
power and number.

From small beginnings on My part he let Me
see, that I was not wholly forsaken by My peo-
ples love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleased to exercise My
patience, and teach Me not to trust in the arm of
Flesh, but in the living God.

My sins sometimes prevailed against the ju-
stice of My Cause: and those that were with Me,
wanted

wanted not matter and occasion for his just chastisement both of them and Me: Nor were My enemies less punished by that prosperity, which hardened them to continue that injustice by open hostility, which was begun by most riotous and unparliamentary Tumults.

There is no doubt, but personal and private sins may oft-times over-balance the Justice of Public engagements; nor doth God account every gallant Man (in the worlds esteem) a fit instrument to assert in the way of War, a righteous Cause; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valor and strength, the less doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glory.

I am sure the event or success can never state the Justice of any Cause, nor the peace of mens Consciences, nor the eternal fate of their Souls.

Those with Me had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly, for their Justification, the Word of God, and the Laws of the Land, together with their own Oathes; all requiring obedience to My just Commands; but to none other under Heaven without Me, or against Me, in the point of raising Arms.

Those on the other side are forced to flie to the shifts of some pretended Fears, and wilde fundamentals of State (as they call them) which actually overthrow the present fabrick, both of Church and State; being such imaginary Reasons for self-defence, as are most impertinent for those men to alledge, who being My Subjects,
were

were manifestly the first assaulters of Me and the Laws : first by unsuppressing the Tumults, after by lifted Forces : The same Allegations they use, will fit any Faction that hath but power and confidence enough to second with the Sword, all their demands against the present Laws and Governors ; which can never be such, as some side or other will not finde fault with, so as to urge what they call a Reformation of them, to a Rebellion against them ; some parasitick Preachers have dared to call those Martyrs, who died fighting against Me, the Laws, their Oathes, and the Religion Established.

But sober Christians know, That glorious Title, can with Truth be applied onely to those, who sincerely preferred Gods Truth, and their duty in all these particulars before their lives, and all that was dear to them in this world : who having no advantagious designs by any Innovation, were religiously sensible of those ties to God, the Church, and My self, which lay upon their Souls, both for obedience and just assistance.

God could, and I doubt not but he did, through his mercy, crown many of them with eternal life, whose lives were lost in so just a Cause ; The destruction of their bodies being sanctified, as a means to save their Souls.

Their wounds, and temporal ruine, serving as a gracious opportunity for their eternal health and happiness ; while the evident approach of death

death did, through Gods grace, effectually dispose their hearts to such Humility, Faith, and Repentance, which together with the Rectitude of their present engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life then that, which their enemies brutish and disloyal fierceness could deprive them of, or without Repentance hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed, had the better against My side in the Field, but never, I believe, at the bar of Gods Tribunal, or their own Consciences; where they are more afraid to encounter those many pregnant Reasons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Christian grounds, which conflict *with*, and accuse them *in* their own thoughts, then they oft were in a desperate bravery to fight against those Forces, which sometimes God gave Me.

Whose condition conquered, and dying, I make no question, but is infinitely more to be chosen by a sober man, (that duly values his duty, his soul, and eternity, beyond the enjoyments of this present life) then the most triumphant glory, wherein their and Mine Enemies survive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, wherewith their suspicious, or now convicted Consciences do pursue them; especially since they and all the world have seen, how false and un-intended those pretensions were, which they first set forth, as the onely plausible (though not justifiable) grounds of raising a War, and continuing it thus long against

gainst Me, and the Laws established; in whose safety and preservation all honest men think the welfare of their Country doth consist.

For, and with all which, it is far more honorable and comfortable to suffer; than to prosper in their ruine and subversion.

I have often prayed, that all on My side might joyn true piety with the sense of their Loyalty; and be as faithful to God and their own souls, as they were to Me. That the defects of the one might not blast the endeavors of the other.

Yet I cannot think, that any shews, or truth of piety on the other side were sufficient to dispencc with, or expiate the defects of their Duty and Loyalty to Me, which have so pregnant convictions on mens Consciences, that even profaner men are moved by the sense of them to venture their lives for Me.

I never had any victory which was without My sorrow, because it was on Mine own Subjects, who, like *Absalom*, died many of them in their sin: And yet I never suffered any Defeat, which made Me despair of Gods mercy and defence.

I never desired such Victories, as might serve to conquer, but onely restore the Laws and Liberties of my people; which I saw were extremamly oppressed, together with My Rights, by those men, who were impatient of any just restraint.

When Providence gave Me, or denied Me Victory, My desire was neither to boast of My power, nor to charge God foolishly; who I believed

lieved at last would make all things to work together for My good.

I wished no greater advantages by the War, than to bring My Enemies to moderation, and My Friends to peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an absolute conquest, and never prayed more for victory over others, than over My self. When the first was denied, the second was granted Me, which God saw best for Me.

The different events were but the methods of divine justice, by contrary winds to winnow us: That, by punishing our sins, he might purge them from us; and by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to use so great a blessing.

My often Messages for Peace shewed, that I delighted not in War: as My former Concessions sufficiently testified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and My total unpreparedness for it, how little I intended it.

The conscience of My Innocency forbade Me to fear a War; but the love of My Kingdoms commanded Me (if possible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this War of nothing, but this, That I gave such advantages to some men, by confirming their power, which they knew not to use with that modesty and gratitude, which became their Loyalty and My confidence.

Had I yielded less, I had been opposed less; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis

It is now too late to review the occasions of the War; I wish onely a happy conclusion, of so unhappy beginnings: The unevitable fate of our sins was (no doubt) such, as would no longer suffer the Divine Justice to be quiet, we having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutual conquerings, to destroy one another: for, the most prosperous successes on either side, impair the welfare of the whole.

Those Victories are still miserable, that leave our sins un-subdued; flushing our pride, and animating to continue injuries.

Peace it self is not desirable, till repentance have prepared us for it.

When we fight more against our selves, and less against God; we shall cease fighting against one another; I pray God these may all meet in our hearts, and so dispose us to an happy conclusion of these Civil Wars; that I may know better to obey God, and govern My People, and they may learn better to obey both God and Me.

Nor do I desire any man should be further subject to Me, then all of us may be subject to God.

my God, make me content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it so.

Teach me the noblest victory over my self, and my Enemies, by patience; which was Christs conquest, and may well become a Christian King.

Between both thy hands, the right sometimes
M supporting,

supporting, and the less afflicting, of fashion, as to
that frame of piety thou likest best. I will
to forgive the pride that attends our prosperity,
and the repinings which follow our disastrous
events, when going forth in our own strength,
thou withdrawest thine; and goest not forth with
our Armies.

Be thou all, when we are something, and when
we are nothing; that thou mayest have the glory,
when we are in victorious or inglorious con-
dition; but our guiding hand be not withdrawn.

Thou O Lord knowest, how hard it is for me to
suffer so much evil from my Subjects, to whom
I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but suf-
fer in those evils which they compel me to inflict
upon them, punishing my self in their punish-
ment.

Since therefore both in conquering, and being
conquered, I am still a sufferer; I beseech thee
to give me a double portion of thy Spirit, and
that measure of grace, which onely can be suffi-
cient for me.

As I am most afflicted, so make me most reform-
ed; that I may be not onely happy to see an end of
these civil distractions, but a chief Instrument
to restore and establish a firm and blessed peace to
my Kingdoms.

Stir up all parties pious ambitions to over-
come each other with reason, moderation, and
such self-denial, as becomes those, who consider,
that our mutual divisions are our common di-
stractions,

peace, and the Union of all, is every good
mans chiefest interest.

If, O Lord, as for the sins of our peace, thou
hast brought upon us the miseries of War; so for
the sins of War, thou shouldst see fit still to deny
us the blessing of peace, and so to keep us in a
circulation of miseries; yet give me thy servant;
and all Loyal, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoy
that peace which the world can neither give nor
take from us.

Impute not to me the blood of my Subjects;
which with infinite unwillingness and grief, hath
been shed by me, in my just and necessary defence;
but wash me with that precious blood, which hath
been shed for me by my great Peace-maker, Je-
sus Christ: Who will, I trust, redeem me shortly
out of all my troubles; for, I know the triumph-
ing of the wicked is but short, and the joy of Hy-
pocrites is but for a moment.

XX. Upon the Reformations of the Times.

NO Glory is more to be envied, than that
of due Reforming either Church or
State, when deformities are such, that
the perturbation and novelty are not like to ex-
ceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God should not honor Me so far, as
to make Me an Instrument of so good a work,
yet I should be glad to see it done.

As I was well pleased with this Parliaments

first intentions, to reform what the indulgence of Times, and corruption of Manners might have depraved; so I am sorry to see, after the freedom of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppressed, how little regard was had to the good Laws established, and the Religion settled, which ought to be the first rule and standard of reforming: with how much partiality, and popular compliance, the passions and opinions of men have been gratified, to the detriment of the Publique, and the infinite scandal of the Reformed Religion.

What dissolutions of all Order, and Government in the Church; what novelties of Schisms and corrupt opinions; what undecencies and confusions in Sacred Administrations; what sacrilegious invasions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church; what contempt and oppressions of the Clergy; what injurious diminutions and persecutings of Me, have followed (as showres do warm gleams) the talk of Reformation, all sober men are Witnesse, and with My self, sad Spectators hitherto.

The great miscarriage I think is, that popular clamors and fury, have been allowed the reputation of Zeal, and the publique sense, so that the study to please some Parties, hath indeed injured all.

Freedom, Moderation, and Impartiality, are sure the best Tempers of Reforming Councils and endeavors: What is acted by Factions,

ons, cannot but offend more than it pleaseth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church affairs and Religion, to the free consultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly chosen; the results of whose Councils, as they would have included the Votes of all, so its like they would have given most satisfaction to all.

The Assembly of Divines, whom the two Houses have applyed (in an unwonted way) to advise of Church Affairs, I dislike not further, than that they are not legally convened and chosen, nor act in the name of all the Clergy of *England*; nor with freedom and impartiality can do any thing, being limited and confined, if not over-awed, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot think so many men, cryed up for Learning and Piety, who formerly allowed the Liturgy and Government of the Church of *England*, as to the main, would have so suddenly agreed quite to abolish both of them, (the last of which they knew to be of Apostolical institution at least; as of Primitive and Universal practice) if they had been left to the liberty of their own suffrages; and if the influence of contrary Factions had not by secret encroachments of hopes, and fears, prevailed upon them, to comply with so great and dangerous Innovations in the Church; without any regard to their own former judgement and practice, or to the common interest and honor of

all the Clergy, and in them, of Order, Learning and Religion, against examples of all Ancient Churches; the Laws in force, and My consent, which is never to be gained, against so pregnant light, as in that point shines on My understanding.

For I conceive, that where the Scripture is not so clear and punctual in precepts, there the constant and Universal practice of the Church, in things not contrary to Reason, Faith, good Maners, or any positive Command, is the best Rule that Christians can follow.

I was willing to grant, or restore to Presbytery, what with Reason or Discretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Episcopacy; but for that wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate, and quite abrogate the Authority of that Ancient Order, I think neither just, as to Episcopacy, nor safe for Presbytery, nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due reformation had easily followed moderate Counsels; and such (I believe) as would have given more content, even to the most of those Divines, who have been led on with much Gravity and Formality, to carry on other mens designs: which no doubt many of them by this time discover, though they dare not but smother their frustrations and discontents.

The specious and popular titles, of Christs Government, Throne, Scepter and Kingdom (which

(which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their parties now have, at least) also the noise of a through Reformation, these may as easily be fined on new models, as fair colours may be put to ill-favored figures.

The breaking of Church windows, which Time had sufficiently defaced; pulling down of Crosses, which were but Civil, not Religious marks; defacing of the Monuments, and Inscriptions of the Dead, which served but to put Posterity in minde, to thank God, for that clearer light wherein they live; the leaving of all Ministers to their liberties, and private abilities, in the Publique service of God, where no Christian can tell to what he may say *Amen*; nor what adventure he may make, of seeming, at least, to consent to the Errors, Blasphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies, which bold and ignorant men list to vent in their Prayers, Preaching, and other Offices. The setting forth also of old Catechisms, and Confessions of Faith new drest, importing as much, as if there had been no sound or clear Doctrine of Faith in this Church, before some four or five years consultation had matured their thoughts, touching their first Principles of Religion.

All these, and the like, are the effects of popular, specious, and deceitful Reformations (that they might not seem to have nothing to do) and may give some short flashes of content to the vulgar (who are taken with novel-

ties, as children with babies, very much, but not very long) But all this amounts not to, nor can in Justice merit the glory of the Churches thorough Reformation; since they leave all things more deformed, disorderly, and discontented, than when they began, in point of Piety, Morality, Charity, and good Order.

Nor can they easily recompence or remedy the inconveniences and mischiefs, which they have purchased so dearly, and which have, and ever will necessarily ensue, til due remedies be applied.

I wish they would at last, make it their Unanimous work, to do Gods work, and not their own: Had Religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But some men thought, that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by so many Laws, and long Customs, would not run into their new moulds, till they had first melted it in the fire of a Civil War; by the advantages of which, they resolved, if they prevailed, to make My self, and all My Subjects, fall down and worship the Images they should form and set up: If there had been as much of Christs Spirit, for meekness, wisdom and charity, in mens hearts, as there was of his name used in the pretensions, to reform all to Christs Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of Gods blessing, and produced more of Christs Glory, the Churches good, the Honor of Religion, and the Unity of Christians,

Publique

Publique Reformers had need first act in private, and practice that on their own hearts, which they purpose to try on others; for Deformities within, will soon betray the Pretenders of publique Reformati^ons, to such private designs as must needs hinder the publique good.

I am sure the right methods of Reforming the Church, cannot consist with that of perturbing the Civil State, nor can Religion be justly advanced by depressing loyalty, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients, and Ornaments of true Religion; for, next to *Fear God*, is, *Honor the King*.

I doubt not but Christs Kingdom may be set up without pulling down Mine, nor will any men in impartial times appear good Christians, that approve not themselves good Subjects.

Christ's Government will confirm Mine, not overthrow it; since as I own Mine from him, so I desire to rule for his Glory, and his Churches good.

Had some men truly intended Christ's Government, or knew what it meant, in their hearts, they could never have been so ill governed in their words and actions, both against Me, and one another.

As good ends cannot justifie evil means, so nor will evil beginnings ever bring forth good conclusions; unless God, by a miracle of Mercy, create Light out of Darkness, order out of our confusions, and peace out of our passions.

Thou

O Lord, who only canst give us beauty
for ashes, and Truth for Hypocrisie, suffer us not
to be miserably deluded with Pharisaical wash-
ings, in stead of Christian reforming. Our
greatest deformities are within; make us
the severest Censurers, and first Reformers of
our own souls.

That we may in cleareness of judgement, and up-
rightness of heart, be a means to reform what is
indeed amiss in Church and State.

Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and renew
right spirits within us; that we may do all by thy
directions, to thy glory, and with thy blessing.

Pity the deformities, which some rash and cruel
Reformers have brought upon this Church and
State; quench the fires which Factions have
kindled, under the pretence of reforming.

As thou hast shewed the world by their divisions,
and confusions; what is the pravity of some mens
intentions, and weakness of their judgements, so
bring us at last more refined out of these fires, by
the methods of Christian and charitable Reforma-
tions; wherein nothing of ambition, revenge, co-
vetousness, or sacriledge, may have any influence
upon their counsels, whom thy providence in just
and lawful ways shall entrust with so great, good,
and now most necessary work. That I and my people
may be so blest with inward piety, as may best teach
us how to use the blessing of outward peace.



XXI. Upon His Majesties Letters taken and divulged.

THe taking of My Letters was an opportunity, which, as the malice of Mine enemies could hardly have expected; so they know not how with honor and civility to use it: Nor do I think, with sober and worthy mindes, any thing in them, could tend so much to My reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the Divulgers: The greatest experiments of Vertue and Nobleness, being discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy, and the greatest obligations, being those, which are put upon us by them, from whom we could least have expected them.

And such I should have esteemed the concealing of My Papers; The freedom and secrecie of which, commands a civility from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there any thing more inhumane, than to expose them to publique view.

Yet since providence will have it so, I am content so much of My heart (which I study to approve to Gods omniscience) should be discovered to the world, without any of those drestes, or popular captations, which some men use in their Speeches, and Expresses; I wish My Subjects had yet a clearer sight into My most retired thoughts.

Where they might discover, how they are divided

vided between the love and care I have, not more to preserve My own Rights, than to procure their peace and happiness, and that extream grief, to see them both deceived and destroyed.

Not can any mens malice be gratified further by My Letters, than to see My constancy to My Wife, the Laws, and Religion. Bees will gather Honey where the Spider sucks Poison.

That I endeavor to avoid the pressures of My Enemies, by all fair and just correspondencies; no man can blame, who loves Me, or the Common-wealth, since My Subjects can hardly be happy if I be miserable, or enjoy their peace and liberties while I am oppressed.

The world may see how soon mens design, like *Absolons*, is by enormous actions to widen differences, and exasperate all sides to such distances, as may make all reconciliation desperate.

Yet I thank God I can not onely with patience bear this, as other indignities, but with Charity forgive them.

The integrity of My Intentions is not jealous of any injury My expressions can do them, for although the confidence of privacy may admit greater freedom in writing such Letters, which may be liable to envious exceptions; yet the Innocency of My chief purposes cannot be so obtained, or mis-interpreted by them, as not to let all men see, that I wish nothing more than an happy composure of differences with Justice and Honor, not more to My own, than My peoples

plus content, who have any sparks of Love or Loyalty left in them: who, by these My Letters may be convinced, that I can both minde and act My own and My Kingdoms Affairs, so as becomes a Prince, which Mine Enemies have always been very loath should be believed of Me, as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of others; whom they please to brand with the names of Evil Counsellors.

Its probable some men will now look upon Me as My own Counsellor, and having none else to quarrel with, under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to My self: Although I know they are very unwilling I should enjoy the liberty of My own Thoughts, or follow the light of My own Conscience, which they labor to bring into an absolute captivity to themselves, not allowing Me to think their Counsels to be other than good for Me, which have so long maintained a War against Me.

The Victory they obtained that day, when My Letters became their prize, had been enough to have satiated the most ambitious thirst of popular glory among the Vulgar; with whom prosperity gains the greatest esteem and applause, as adversity exposeth to their greatest slighting and dis-respect: As if good fortune were always the shadow of Vertue and Justice, and did not oftner attend virious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But I see no secular advantages seem sufficient

to

rather chuse, which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the vulgar mind.

They think no Victories so effectual to their designs as those, that most rour and waste My Credit with my People; in whose hearts they seek by all means to smother and extinguish all sparks of Love, Respect and Loyalty to Me, that they may never kindle again, so as to recover Mine, the Laws, and the Kingdoms Liberties, which some men seek to overthrow. The taking away of My Credit, is but a necessary preparation to the taking away of My Life, and My Kingdoms; first, I must seem neither fit to Live, nor worthy to Reign; by exquisite methods of cunning and cruelty, I must be compelled, first to follow the Funerals of My Honor, and then be destroyed: But I know Gods unerring and impartial Justice, can and will over-rule the most perverse wills and designs of men; He is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worst of Mine Enemies thoughts and actions to My good.

Nor do I think, that by the surprize of My Letters, I have lost any more than so many Papers: How much they have lost of that reputation, for Civility and Humanity (which ought to be paid to all men, and most becomes such as pretend to Religion) besides that of respect and Honor, which they owe to their *King*, present and after-times will judge. And I cannot think

think that their own consciences are so stupid, as not to inflict upon them some secret impressions of that shame and dishonour, which attends all unworthy actions, have they never so much of publique flattery, and popular countenance.

I am sure they can never expect the Divine approbation of such indecent actions, if they do but remember how God blest the modest respect and filial tenderness which *Noah's* Sons bore to their Father; nor did his open infirmity justify *Cham's* impudency, or exempt him from that curse of being *Servant of Servants*, which curse must needs be on them who seek by dishonourable actions to please the Vulgar, and confirm by ignoble acts, their dependance upon the People.

Not can their malicious intentions be ever either excusable or prosperous, who thought, by this means, to expose me to the highest reproach and contempt of my People, forgetting their duty of modest concealment, which they owed to the Father of their Country, in case they had discovered my real uncomeliness, which, I thank God, they did not; who can, and, I believe, hath made Me more respected in the hearts of many (as he did *David*) to whom they thought, by publishing my private Letters, to have rendered me as a vile Person, not fit to be trusted, or considered under any notion of Majesty.

But thou, O Lord, whose wise and all-disposing providence

providence ordereth the greatest contingents of
humane affairs; make me to see the constancy of
thy mercies to me, in the greatest advantages thou
seemest to give the malice of my Enemies against
me.

As thou didst blast the counsel of Archithophel,
turning it to Davids good, and his own ruine, so
canst thou defeat their design, who intended by
publishing my private Letters, nothing else, but
to render me more odious and contemptible to my
people.

I must first appeal to thy Omnipotence, who canst
witness with my integrity, how unjust and false
those scandalous misconstructions are, which my
enemies endeavor by those Papers of mine, to re-
present to the world.

Make the evil they imagined, and displeasure
they intended thereby against me, so to return on
their own heads, that they may be ashamed, and co-
vered with their own confusion, as with a Cloak.

Thou seest how mine Enemies use all means to
cloud mine Honor, to pervert my purposes, and to
slander the foot steps of thine Anointed.

But give me an heart content to be dishonored
for thy sake, and thy Churchs good.

Fix in me a purpose to honor thee, and then I
know thou wilt honor me, either by restoring to
me the enjoyment of that Power and Majesty,
which thou hast suffered some men to seek to de-
prive me of; or by bestowing on me that crown of
Christian patience, which knows how to serve
thee

in honor or dishonor, in good report or evil.
Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of goodness and
honor, thou art clothed with excellent Majesty;
make me to partake of thy excellency for wisdom,
justice, and mercy, and I shall not want that degree
of Honor and Majesty, which becomes the Place
in which thou hast set me; who art the lifter up
of my head, and my salvation.

Lord, by thy Grace, lead me to thy glory, which
is both true and eternal.

XXII. Upon His Majesties leaving Oxford,
and going to the Scots.

Although God hath given Me three
Kingdoms, yet in these He hath not now
left Me any place, where I may with
Safety and Honor rest My Head; shewing Me,
that himself is the safest Refuge, and the strong-
est Tower of Defence, in which I may put My
Trust.

In these extremities, I look not to man so
much as to God, He will have it thus; that I
may wholly cast My self, and My now distressed
affairs upon his mercy, who hath both hearts and
hands of all men in his dispose.

What Providence denies to Force, it may
grant to Prudence: Necessity is now My Coun-
sellor, and commands Me to study My safety,
by a disguised withdrawing from My chiefest
strength, and adventuring upon their loyalty, who

first began My troubles. Happily God may make them a means honorably to compose them.

This My confidence of Them, may dis-arm and overcome them: My rendring My Person to Them, may engage their affections to Me, who have oft professed, *They fought not against Me, but for Me.*

I must now resolve the riddle of their Loyalty; and give them opportunity to let the world see, they mean not what they do, but what they say.

Yet must God be My chiefest Guard; and My Conscience both My Councillor and My Comforter: Though I put My Body into their hands, yet I shall reserve My Soul to God and My self; nor shall any necessities compel Me to desert Mine Honor, or swerve from My Judgment.

What they sought to take by force, shal now be given them in such a way of unusual confidence of them, as may make them ashamed not to be really such, as they ought and professed to be.

God sees it not enough, to deprive Me of all Military power to defend My self; but to put Me upon using their power, who seem to fight against Me, yet ought in duty to defend Me.

So various are all humane affairs, and so necessitous may the state of Princes be, that their greatest danger may be in their supposed safety, and their safety in their supposed danger.

I must now leave those that have adhered
to

to Me, and apply to those that have Opposed Me; this method of Peace may be more prosperous than that of War, both to stop the effusion of blood, and to close those wounds already made: And in it I am no less solicitous for My Friends safety, than Mine own; chusing to venture My self upon further hazards, rather than expose their resolute Loyalty to all extremities.

It is some skill in play, to know when a game is lost; better fairly to give over, than to contest in vain.

I must now study to re-inforce My judgement, and fortifie My minde with Reason and Religion; that I may not seem to offer up My Souls Liberty, or make My Conscience their Captive; who ought at first to have used Arguments, not Arms, to have perswaded My consent to their new demands.

I thank God, no success darkens or disguises Truth to Me; and I shall no less conform My words to My inward dictates now, than if they had been, as the words of a KING ought to be among Loyal Subjects, *full of power.*

Reason is the Divinest power: I shall never think My self weakned, while I may make full and free use of that. No eclipse of outward fortune shall rob me of that light; what God hath denyed of outward strength, his grace, I hope, will supply with inward resolutions, not morosely

I shall never think My self less than My self, while I am able thus to preserve the Integrity of My Conscience, the only Jewel now left Me, which is worth keeping.

O thou Sovereign of our Souls, the only
Commander of our Consciences; though I know
not what to do, yet mine eyes are toward thee:
To the protection of thy mercy I still commend
my self.

As thou hast preserved me in the day of Bat-
tel, so thou canst still shew me thy strength in my
weakness.

Be thou unto me in my darkest night, a pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct me; in the day of my hottest affliction, be also a pillar of cloud to overshadow and protect me; be to me, both a Sun and a Shield.

Thou knowest, that it is not any perverseness of Will, but just perswasions of Honor, Reason, and Religion, which have made me thus far to hazard my Person, Peace and Safety, against Those, that by force have sought to wrest them from me.

Suffer not my just Resolutions, to abate with
my outward Forces; let a good Conscience al-
ways accompany me, in my solitude and deser-
tions.

Suffer

*Suffer me not to betray the powers of Reason,
and that fortress of my Soul; which I am in-
trusted to keep for thee.*

*Lead me in the paths of thy righteousness, and
show me thy salvation.*

*Make my ways to please thee, and then thou
wilt make mine Enemies to be at peace with me.*

*XXIII. Upon the Scots delivering the KING to
the English, and His Captivity at Holmby.*

YET may I justify those Scots to all the
world in this, that they have not de-
ceived me, for I never trusted to them
further than to men: If I am sold by them, I
am only sorry they should do it; and that My
price should be so much above My Saviors.

These are but further Essays, which God will
have Me make of mans uncertainty, the more
to fix Me on himself, who never faileth them
that trust in him: Though the Reeds of Egypt
break under the hand of him that leans on them,
yet the Rock of Israel will be an everlasting stay
and defence.

Gods providence commands Me to retire
from all to himself, that in him I may enjoy
My self, which I lose, while I let out My hopes
to others.

The Solitude and Captivity, to which I
am now reduced, gives Me leisure enough to

study the worlds vanity, and inconstancy.

God sees 'tis fit to deprive Me of Wife, Children, Army, Friends and Freedom, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the Unfortunate, if I be not in the black List of irreligious and sacrilegious Princes.

No Restraint shall ensnare My Soul in sin, nor gain that of Me, which may make My Enemies more insolent, My Friends ashamed, or My Name accursed.

They have no great cause to triumph, that they have got My Person into their power; since My Soul is still My own: nor shall they ever gain My Consent against My Conscience.

What they call obstinacy, I know God accounts honest constancy, from which Reason and Religion, as well as Honor, forbid Me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evil Counsellors with Me, but a good Conscience in Me, which hath been fought against; nor did they ever intend to bring Me to My Parliament, till they had brought My minde to their obedience.

Should I grant what some men desire, I should be such as they wish Me; not more a King, and far less both Man and Christian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtain, neither shall Restraint; which, though it have as little of safety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The

The fear of men shall never be My snare, nor shall the love of any liberty entangle My soul: Better others betray Me, than My self: and that the price of My liberty should be My Conscience; the greatest injuries My Enemies seek to inflict upon Me, cannot be without My own consent.

While I can deny with Reason, I shall defeat the greatest impressions of their malice, who neither know how to use worthily, what I have already granted; nor what to require more of Me but this, That I would seem willing to help them to destroy My self and Mine.

Although they should destroy Me, yet they shall have no cause to despise me.

Neither liberty nor life are so dear to Me, as the peace of My Conscience, the Honor of My Crowns, and the welfare of My People; which My Word may injure, more than any War can do; while I gratifie a few to oppress all.

The Laws will, by Gods blessing, revive, with the Love and Loyalty of My Subjects; if I bury them not by My Consent, and cover them in that grave of dishonor and injustice, which some mens violence hath digged for them.

If My captivity or death must be the price of their Redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miserable, which carries not with it, His Souls, His Peoples, and Posterities thralldom.

After times may see, what the blindenell of this Age will not; and God may at length shew My Subjects, that I chuse rather to suffer for them, than with them: happily I might redeem my self to some shew of liberty, if I would consent to enslave them: I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, than to confirm many Tyrants over them; from whom I pray God deliver them, whatever becomes of Me, whose solitude hath not left Me alone.

For thou, O God, infinitely good and great, art with me, whose presence is better than life, and whose service is perfect freedom.

Own me for thy Servant, and I shall never have cause to complain for want of that liberty, which becomes a Man, a Christian, and a King.

Bless me still with Reason, as a Man; with Religion, as a Christian; and with Constancy in Justice, as a King.

Though thou sufferest me to be stript of all outward ornaments, yet preserve me ever in those enjoyments; wherein I may enjoy thy self, and which cannot be taken from me against my will.

Let no fire of affliction boyl over my passion to any impatience, or sordid fears.

There be many say of me, There is no help for me: do thou lift up the light of thy Countenance upon me, and I shall never want safety, liberty, nor majesty.

Give

Obtune me that measure of patience and constancy, which my condition now requires.

My strength is scattered, my expectation from men defeated, my person restrained: O be not thou far from me, lest my Enemies prevail too much against me.

I am become a wonder, and a scorn to many: O be thou my Helper and Defender.

Shew some token upon me for good, that they that hate me may be ashamed, because thou Lord hast holpen and comforted me: establish me with thy free Spirit, that I may do, and suffer thy will, as thou wouldst have me.

Be merciful to me, O Lord, for my Soul trusteth in thee: yea, and in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge, until these calamities be overpast.

Arise to deliver me, make no long tarrying, O my God. Though thou killest me, yet will I trust in thy mercy, and my Saviours merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth; though thou tearest me through the vale and shadow of death, yet shall I fear none ill.

XXIV. Upon their denying His Majesty the Attendance of His Chaplains.

When Providence was pleased to deprive Me of all other civil comforts and secular Attendants, I thought the absence of them all might best be supplied by

by the attendance of some of My Chaplains, whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelity I have cause to love. By their learning, piety, and prayers, I hoped to be either better enabled to sustain the want of all other enjoyments; or better fitted for the recovery and use of them in Gods good time, so reaping by their pious help a spiritual harvest of grace amidst the thorns, and after the plowings of temporal crosses.

The truth is, I never needed or desired more the service and assistance of men judiciously pious, and soberly devout.

The solitude they have confined Me unto, adds the Wilderness to My temptations; For the company they obtrude upon Me, is more sad than any solitude can be.

If I had asked My Revenues, My Power of the *Militia*, or any one of My Kingdoms, it had been no wonder to have been denied in those things, where the evil policy of men forbids all just restitution, lest they should confess an injurious usurpation: But to deny Me the Ghostly comfort of My Chaplains, seems a greater rigor and barbarity than is ever used by Christians to the meanest Prisoners, and greatest Malefactors; whom, though the Justice of the Law deprive of worldly comforts, yet the mercy of Religion allows them the benefit of their Clergy, as not ayming at once to destroy their Bodies, and to damn their Souls.

But

But My Agony must not be relieved with the presence of any one good Angel; for such I account a Learned, Godly, and discreet Divine: and such I would have all Mine to be.

They, that envy My being a King, are loath I should be a Christian; while they seek to deprive Me of all things else, They are afraid I should save My Soul.

Other sense, Charity it self can hardly pick out of those many harsh Repulses I received, as to that Request so often made for the attendance of some of My Chaplains.

I have sometime thought, the Unchristianness of those denials, might arise from a displeasure some men had, to see Me prefer My own Divines before their Ministers: whom, though I respect for that worth and piety which may be in them; yet I cannot think them so proper for any present Comforters or Physicians, who have (some of them at least) had so great an influence in occasioning these calamities, and inflicting these wounds upon Me.

Nor are the soberest of them so apt for that devotional compliance and juncture of hearts, which I desire to bear in those holy Offices, to be performed with Me, and for Me; since their judgements standing at a distance from Me, or in jealousy of Me, or in opposition against Me, their Spirits cannot so harmoniously accord with Mine, or Mine with theirs, either in Prayer, or other holy duties, as is meet, and most comfortable;

table; whose golden Rule, and bond of Perfection, consists in that of mutual Love and Chinty;

Some remedies are worse than the disease, and some Comforters more miserable than misery it self; when like *Jabs* friends, they seek not to fortifie ones minde with patience; but perswade a man, by betraying his own Innocency, to despair of Gods mercy; and by Justifying their injuries, to strengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of Insolent Enemies.

I am so much a friend to all Church-men, that have any thing in them becomming that sacred Function, that I have hazarded My own Interest, chiefly upon Conscience and Constancy to maintain their Rights; whom, the more I looked upon, as Orphans, and under the sacrilegious eyes of many cruel and rapacious Reformers; so I thought it My duty the more to appear as a Father, and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am very unhand somely requited by some of them; who may live to repent no less for My sufferings, than their own ungrateful errors; and that infamous contempt and meanness, which they have brought upon their Calling and Persons.

I pity all of them, I despise none: onely I thought I might have leave to make choise of some for My special Attendants, who were best approved in My Judgement, and most suitable to My affection. For, I held it better to seem undevout, and to hear no mens prayers, than to be

forced,

forced; or seem to comply with those petitions, to which the heart cannot consent, nor the tongue say *Amen*; without contradicting a mans own understanding; or belying his own soul.

In Devotions, I love neither profane boldness, nor pious non-sense; but such an humble and judicious gravity; as shews the Speaker to be at once considerate of Gods Majesty, the Churches Honor, and his own Vileness; both knowing what things God allows him to ask, and in what manner it becomes a Sinner to supplicate the divine Mercy for himself and others.

I am equally scandalized with all prayers, that sound either imperiously, or rudely, and passionately; as either wanting humility to God, or charity to men, or respect to the duty.

I confess I am better pleased, as with studied and premeditated Sermons, so with such publique Forms of Prayer, as are fitted to the Churches and every Christians daily and common necessities; because I am by them better assured, what I may joyn My heart unto, than I can be of any mans extemporary sufficiency; which, as I do not wholly exclude from publique occasions, so I allow its just liberty and use in private and devout retirements; where neither the solemnity of the duty, nor the modest regard to others, do require so great exactness, as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of understanding, and the fervency of affection, I hold the main and most necessary requisites,

sites both in constant, and occasional, solitary, and social Devotions.

So that I must needs seem to all equal mindes, with as much Reason to prefer the service of My own Chaplains, before that of their Ministers, as I do the Liturgy before their Directory.

In the one, I have been always educated and exercis'd; In the other, I am not yet Catechized, nor acquainted: And if I were, yet should I not by that, as by any certain rule and Canon of devotion, be able to follow or finde out the indirect extravagancies of most of those men, who highly cry up that as a piece of rare composition and use; which is already as much despised and disused by many of them, as the Common-prayer sometimes was by those men; a great part of whose piety hung upon that popular pin, of rayling against, and contemning the Government, and Liturgy of this Church. But I had rather be condemned to the woe of *Va soli*, than to that of *Va vobis, Hypocrite*, by seeming to pray what I do not approve.

It may be, I am esteemed by My Denyers, sufficient of My self to discharge My duty to God as a Priest, though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices, Regal and Sacerdotal, might well become the same Person; as ancient they were under one name, and the united rights of primogeniture: Nor could I follow better presidents, if I were able, than those two eminent Kings, *David* and *Solomon*; not
more

more famous for their Scepters and Crowns, than one was for devout Psalms and Prayers; the other for his divine Parables and Preaching: whence the one merited and assumed the name of a Prophet, the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater honor, where rightly placed, than any of those the Roman Emperors affected from the Nations they subdued: it being infinitely more glorious, to convert Souls to Gods Church by the Word, than to conquer men to a subjection by the Sword.

Yet since the order of Gods wisdom and providence hath, for the most part, always distinguished the gifts and offices of Kings, of Priests, of Princes and Preachers; both in the Jewish and Christian Churches; I am sorry to finde My self reduced to the necessity of being both, or enjoying neither.

For such as seek to deprive Me of Kingly Power and Sovereignty, would no less enforce Me to live many Moneths without all Prayers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unless I become My own Chaplain.

As I owe the Clergy the protection of a Christian KING, so I desire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and prayers; which I look upon as more prevalent than My own, or other mens; by how much they flow from mindes more enlightned, and affections less distracted, than those, which are encombred with secular affairs: besides, I think a greater blessing and accepta-

182
ACCEPTABLENESS attends those duties, which are
rightly performed, as proper to, and within the
limits of that calling, to which God and the
Church have specially designed and consecrated
some men: And however, as to that Spiritual
Government, by which the devout Soul is sub-
ject to Christ, and through his merits daily of-
fers it self and its services to God, every private
believer is a King and Priest, invested with the
honor of a Royal Priesthood, yet, as to Ecclesi-
astical order, and the outward polity of the
Church, I think confusion in Religion will as
certainly follow every mans turning Priest or
Preacher, as it will in the State, where every one
affects to rule as King.

I was always bred to more modest, and I
think, more pious Principles: the consciousness
to My spiritual defects, make Me more prize and
desire those pious assistances, which holy and
good Ministers, either Bishops or Presbyters,
may afford Me; especially in these extremities,
to which God hath been pleased to suffer some
of My Subjects to reduce Me, so as to leave them
nothing more, but My life to take from Me: and
to leave Me nothing to desire, which I thought
might less provoke their jealousy and offence to
deny Me, than this, of having some means afford-
ed Me for My souls comfort and support.

To which end I made choice of men, as no
way (that I know) scandalous, so every way emi-
nent for their learning and piety, no less than
for

for their Loyalty : nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made against them, but onely this, That they may seem too able, and too well-affected toward Me and My service.

But this is not the first service (as I count it the best) in which they have forced Me to serve My self; though I must confess, I bear with more grief and impatience, the want of My Chaplains, than of any other My Servants; and next (if not beyond in some things) to the being sequestred from My Wife and Children; since from these indeed more of humane and temporary affections, but from those more of heavenly and eternal improvements may be expected.

My comfort is, that in the inforced (not neglected) want of ordinary means, God is wont to afford extraordinary supplies of his gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach Me, and help My infirmities in Prayer, Reading, and Meditation (as I hope he will) I shall need no other, either Orator or Instructor.

To Thee therefore, O my God, do I direct my now solitary prayers; what I want of others help, supply with the more immediate assistances of thy Spirit, which alone can both enlighten my darkness, and quicken my dulness.

O thou Sun of Righteousness, thou Sacred Fountain of Heavenly light and heat, at once clear
O and

and warm my heart, both by instructing of me, and interceding for me. In thee is all fulness: From thee all sufficiency, By thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough, and comfort enough: Thou art my King, be also my Prophet and my Priest. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me, and be thou ever with me.

The single wrestlings of Jacob prevailed with thee, in that sacred Duel, when he had none to second him but thy self; who didst assist him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcome violence to wrest a blessing from thee.

O look on me thy Servant, in infinite mercy, whom thou didst once bless with the joynt and sociated Devotions of others, whose fervency might inflame the coldness of my affections towards thee; when we went to, or met in thy House with the voyce of joy and gladness, worshipping thee in the unity of Spirits, and with the bond of Peace.

O forgive the neglect, and not improving of those happy opportunities.

It is now thy pleasure, that I should be as a Pelican in the wilderness, as a Sparrow on the house top, and as a Coal scattered from all those pious glowings, and devout reflections, which might best kindle, preserve, and encrease the holy fire of thy graces, on the Altar of my heart, whence the sacrifice of prayers, and incense of praises, might be duly offered up to thee.

Yet, O thou that breakest not the bruized Reed,

nor quenchest the smoking Flax, do not despise the weakness of my prayers, nor the smotherings of my soul in this uncomfortable loneness; to which I am constrained by some mens uncharitable denials of those helps, which I much want, and no less desire.

O let the hardness of their hearts, occasion the softnings of mine to thee, and for Them. Let their hatred kindle my love, let their unreasonable denials of my Religious desires, the more excite my prayers to thee. Let their inexorable deafness encline thine ear to me, who art a God easie to be entreated; thine ear is not heavy, that it cannot, nor thy heart hard, that it will not hear; nor thy hand shortned, that it cannot help me thy desolate Suppliant.

Thou permittest men to deprive me of those outward means, which thou hast appointed in thy Church; but they cannot debar me from the communion of that inward grace, which thou alone breathest into humble hearts.

O make me such, and thou wilt teach me; thou wilt hear me, thou wilt help me: The broken and contrite heart, I know, thou wilt not despise.

Thou, O Lord, canst at once make me thy Temple, thy Priest, thy Sacrifice, and thine Altar; while from an humble heart I (alone) daily offer up in holy meditations, fervent prayers, and unfeigned tears my self to thee, who preparest me for thee, dwellest in me, and acceptest of me.

Thou, O Lord, didst cause by secret supplies and

miraculous infusions, that the handful of meal in the vessel should not spend, nor the little oyl in the cruse fail the Widow, during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on my Soul, which as a Widow, is now desolate and forsaken: let not those saving Truths I have formerly learned, now fail my memory; nor the sweet effusions of thy Spirit, which I have sometime felt, now be wanting to my heart in this famine of ordinary and wholsom food, for the refreshing of my Soul.

Which yet I had rather chuse, than to feed from those hands who mingle my bread with ashes, and my wine with gall; rather tormenting, than teaching me; whose mouthes are proner to bitter reproaches of me, than to hearty prayers for me.

Thou knowest, O Lord of truth, how oft they wrest thy holy Scriptures to my destruction, (which are clear for their subjection, and my preservation) O let it not be to their damnation.

Thou knowest how some men (under colour of long prayers) have sought to devour the houses of their Brethren, their King, and their God.

O let not those mens Balms break my head, nor their Cordials oppress my heart, I will evermore pray against their wickedness.

From the poyson under their tongues, from the snares of their lips, from the fire, and the swords of their words, ever deliver me, O Lord, and all those Loyal and Religious hearts, who
desire

desire and delight in the prosperity of my Soul,
and who seek by their prayers to relieve this sad-
ness and solitude of thy servant, O my King and
my God.

XXV. Penitential Meditations and Vows in the
KING'S solitude at Holmby.

Give ear to my words, O Lord, consider my
Meditation, and hearken to the voice of
my cry, my King and my God, for unto
thee will I pray.

I said in mine haste, I am cast out of the sight
of thine eyes; nevertheless thou hearest the voice
of my supplication, when I cry unto thee.

If thou, Lord, shouldst be extream to mark what
is done amiss, who can abide it? But there is
mercy with thee, that thou mayest be feared;
therefore shall sinners fly unto thee.

I acknowledge my sins before thee, which have
the aggravation of my condition; the eminency
of my place adding weight to my offences.

Forgive, I beseech thee, my personal and
my peoples sins; which are so far mine, as
I have not improved the power thou gavest me,
to thy glory, and my Subjects good: Thou hast
now brought me from the glory and freedom of a
King, to be a prisoner to my own Subjects: Just-
ly, O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand; because
in many things I have rebelled against thee.

Though Thou hast restrained my Person, yet enlarge my heart to thee, and thy grace towards me.

I come far short of Davids piety; yet since I may equal Davids afflictions, give me also the comforts and the sure mercies of David.

Let the penitent sence I have of my sins, be an evidence to me, that thou hast pardoned them.

Let not the evils which I and my Kingdoms have suffered, seem little unto thee, though thou hast not punished us according to our sins.

Turn thee (O Lord) unto me; have mercy upon me, for I am desolate and afflicted.

The sorrows of my heart are enlarged; O bring thou me out of my troubles.

Hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and shut up thy loving kindeness in displeasure?

O remember thy compassions of old, and thy loving kindenesses, which have been for many generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not believed to see thy goodness in the land of the living.

Let not the sins of our prosperity, deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fiery tryal consume the dross, which in long peace and plenty we had contracted.

Though thou continuest miseries, yet withdraw not thy grace; what is wanting of prosperity, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger be not to be yet turned away, but thy hand of justice must be stretched out still;

Let

Let it I beseech thee, be against me and my Father's house, as for these sheep, what have they done?

Let my sufferings satiate the malice of mine, and thy Churches Enemies.

But let their cruelty never exceed the measure of my charity.

Banish from me all thoughts of Revenge, that I may not lose the reward, nor thou the glory of my patience.

As thou givest me a heart to forgive them, so I beseech thee do thou forgive what they have done against thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou hast given me an heart to pray unto thee, so hear and accept this Vow, which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercy remember me, and my Kingdoms, in continuing the light of thy Gospel, and settling thy true Religion among us.

In restoring to us the benefit of the Laws, and the due execution of Justice.

In suppressing the many Schisms in Church, and Factions in State.

If thou wilt restore me and mine to the Ancient Rights and Glory of my Predecessors.

If thou wilt turn the hearts of my people to thy self in piety, to me in Loyalty, and to one another in Charity.

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the fewel of these Civil Wars.

If thou wilt bless us with the freedom of publique

lique Counsels, and deliver the Honor of Parliaments from the insolency of the vulgar.

If thou wilt keep me from the great offence, of enacting any thing against my Conscience; and especially from consenting to sacrilegious rapines, and spoilings of thy Church.

If thou wilt restore me to a capacity, to glorifie thee in doing good, both to the Church and State.

Then shall my Soul praise thee, and magnifie thy name before my people.

Then shall thy glory be dearer to me than my Crowns; and the advancement of true Religion both in purity and power, be my chiefest care.

Then will I rule my people with Justice, and my Kingdoms with Equity.

To thy more immediate hand shall I ever own, as the rightful successian, so the merciful restauration of my Kingdoms, and the glory of them.

If thou wilt bring me again with peace, safety and honor, to my chiefest City, and my Parliament.

If thou wilt again put the Sword of Justice into my hand, to punish and protect.

Then will I make all the world to see, and my very Enemies to enjoy the benefit of this Vow and Resolution of Christian Charity, which I now make unto thee, O Lord.

As I do freely pardon, for Christs sake, those that have offended me in any kinde; so my hand shall never be against any man, to revenge what is past,

past, in regard of any particular injury done to me.
We have been mutually punished in our unnatural divisions; for thy sake, O Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer, have I purposed this in my heart, That I will use all means in the ways of amnesty and indemnity, which may most fully remove all fears, and bury all jealousies in forgetfulness.

Let thy mercies be toward me and mine, as my resolutions of Truth and Peace are toward my People.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, which goeth not out of feigned lips.

Blessed be God, who hath not turned away my prayer; nor taken his mercy from me.

O my soul, commit thy way to the Lord, trust in him, and he shall bring it to pass.

But if thou wilt not restore me and mine, what am I, that I should charge thee foolishly?

Thou, O Lord, hast given, and thou hast taken, Blessed be thy name.

May my People and thy Church be happy, if not by me, yet without me.

XXVI. Upon the Armies Surprisal of the KING at Holmby, and the ensuing distractions in the two Houses, the Army, and the City.

WHat part God will have Me now to act or suffer in this new and strange scene of affairs, I am not much solicitous;

licitous, some little practice will serve that man, who onely seeks to represent a part of honesty and honor.

This surprize of Me tells the world, that a King cannot be so low, but He is considerable, adding weight to that Parry where he appears.

This motion, like others of the Times, seems excentrique and irregular, yet not well to be resisted or quieted: Better swim down such a stream, than in vain to strive against it.

These are but the struglings of those twins, which lately one womb enclosed, the yonger striving to prevail against the elder; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now seek to catch for themselves.

So impossible is it for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, so much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the Builders of *Babel* should from division fall to confusion, is no wonder; but for those that pretend to build *Jerusalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill omen; and sounds too like the fury of those Zealots, whose intestine bitterness and divisions, were the greatest occasion of the last fatal destruction of that City.

Well may I change My Keepers and Prison, but not My captive condition; onely with this hope of bettering, that those who are so much professed Patrons for the Peoples Liberties, can-

not

not be utterly against the Liberty of their King; what they demand for their own Consciences, they cannot in Reason deny to Mine.

In this they seem more ingenuous, than the Presbyterian rigor, who, sometimes complaining of exacting their conformity to Laws, are become the greatest Exactors of other mens submission to their novel injunctions, before they are stamped with the Authority of Laws, which they cannot well have without My consent.

'Tis a great argument, that the Independents think themselves manumitted from their Rivals service, in that they carry on a business of such consequence, as the assuming My Person into the Armies custody, without any Commission, but that of their own will and power. Such as will thus adventure on a King, must not be thought over-modest, or timorous to carry on any design they have a minde to.

Their next motion menaces, and scares both the two Houses and the City: which, soon after acting over again that former part of tumultuary motions, (never questioned, punished, or repented) must now suffer for both; and see their former sin in the glass of the present terrors and distractions.

No man is so blinde, as not to see herein the hand of divine justice; they that by Tumults first occasioned the raising of Armies, must now be chastened by their own Army for new Tumults,

So hardly can men be content with one sin, but adde sin to sin, till the latter punish the former; such as were content to see Me and many Members of both Houses driven away by the first unsurpressed Tumults, are now forced to flie to an Army, or defend themselves against them.

But who can unfold the riddle of some mens justice: the Members of both Houses who at first withdrew, (as My self was forced to do) from the rudeness of the Tumults, were counted Desertors, and outed of their Places in Parliament.

Such as stayed then, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults, were asserted for the onely Parliament-men: now the Fliers from, and Forsakers of their Places, carry the Parliamentary power along with them; complain highly against the Tumults, and vindicate themselves by an Army: such as remained and kept their stations, are looked upon as Abettors of tumultuary insolencies, and Betrayers of the freedom and honor of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, and Law; where men look more to present Advantages, than their Consciences, and the unchangeable rules of Justice; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themselves.

Now the plea against Tumults holds good, the Authors and Abettors of them are guilty of prodigious insolencies; when as before, they were counted as Friends and necessary Assistants.

I see Vengeance pursues and overtakes (as the
Mice

Mice and Rats are said to have done a Bishop in Germany) them that thought to have escaped, and fortified themselves most impreguably against it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will punish, by their own crimes and hands.

I cannot but observe this divine Justice, yet with sorrow and pity; for, I always wished so well to Parliament and City, that I was sorry to see them do, or suffer any thing, unworthy such great and considerable bodies in this Kingdom.

I was glad to see them onely scared and humbled, not broken by that shaking: I never had so ill a thought of those Cities, as to despair of their Loyalty to Me; which mistakes might eclipse, but I never believed malice had quite put out.

I pray God the storm be yet wholly passed over them; upon whom I look, as Christ did sometime over *Jerusalem*, as objects of My prayers and tears, with compassionate grief, foreseeing those severer scatterings, which will certainly befall such as wantonly refuse to be gathered to their duty: fatal blindness frequently attending and punishing wilful, so that men shall not be able at last to prevent their sorrows, who would not timely repent of their sins; nor shall they be suffered to enjoy the comforts, who securely neglect the counsels belonging to their peace. They will finde, that Brethren in iniquity, are not far from becoming insolent enemies;
there

there being nothing harder, than to keep ill men long in one minde.

Nor is it possible to gain a fair period for those notions, which go rather in a round and circle of fancy, than in a right line of reason tending to the Law, the onely center of publique consistency; whither I pray God at last bring all sides.

Which will easily be done, when we shall fully see how much more happy we are, to be subject to the known Laws, than to the various wills of any men, seem they never so plausible at first.

Vulgar compliance with any illegal and extravagant ways, like violent motions in nature, soon grows weary of it self, and ends in a refractory sullenness: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who first put them upon those violent strokes.

For the Army (which is so far excusable, as they act according to Soldiers principles, and interests, demanding Pay and Indempnity) I think it necessary, in order to the Publique peace, that they should be satisfied, as far as is just; no man being more prone to consider them, than My self: though they have fought against Me, yet I cannot but so far esteem that valor and gallantry they have sometime shewed, as to wish I may never want such men to maintain My self, My Laws, and My Kingdoms, in such a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their share and proportion as much as any men.

But

But thou, O Lord, who art perfect Unity in a sacred Trinity, in mercy behold those, whom thy Justice hath divided.

Deliver me from the stirrings of my People, and make me to see how much they need my prayers and pity, who agreed to fight against me, and yet are now ready to fight against one another, to the continuance of my Kingdoms distractions.

Discover to all sides the ways of peace, from which they have swerved: which consists not in the divided wills of Parties, but in the joynt and due observation of the Laws.

Make me willing to go whither thou wilt lead me by thy providence; and be thou ever with me, that I may see thy constancy in the worlds variety and changes.

Make me even such as thou wouldst have me, that I may at last enjoy that safety and tranquillity, which thou alone canst give me.

Divert, I pray thee, O Lord, thy heavy wrath, justly hanging over those populous Cities, whose plenty is prone to adde fuel to their luxury, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to security, and their security exposing them to unexpected miseries.

Give them eyes to see, hearts to consider, wills to embrace, and courage to act those things which belong to thy glory and the publique peace, lest their calamity come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them, That they cannot want enemies who abound in sin, nor shall they be long undisarmed

armed and un-destroyed, who with a high band persisting to fight against thee, and the clear convictions of their own consciences, fight more against themselves, than ever they did against me.

Their sins exposing them to thy Justice, their riches to others injuries, their number to Tumults, and their Tumults to confusion.

Though they have with much forwardness helped to destroy me, yet let not my fall be their ruine.

Let me not so much consider, either what they have done, or I have suffered, (chiefly at first by them) as to forget to imitate my crucified Redeemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon; and in my dying extremities; to pray to thee, O Father, to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

The tears they have denied me in my saddest condition, give them grace to bestow upon themselves; who, the less they weep for me, the more cause they have to weep for themselves.

O let not my blood be upon them and their Children, whom the fraud and faction of some, not the malice of all, have excited to crucifie me.

But thou, O Lord, canst, and wilt (as thou didst my Redeemer) both exalt and perfect me by my sufferings, which have more in them of thy mercy, than of mans cruelty, or thy own justice.



XXVII. *To the Prince of Wales.*

S On, if these Papers, with some others, wherein I have set down the private reflections of My Conscience, and My most impartial thoughts, touching the chief passages which have been most remarkable, or disputed in My late Troubles, come to Your hands, to whom they are chiefly design'd, they may be so far useful to You, as to state Your judgement aright in what hath passed; whereof, a pious is the best use can be made: and they may also give You some directions, how to remedy the present distempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is some kinde of deceiving and lessening the injury of My long restraint, when I finde My leisure and solitude have produced something worthy of My self, and useful to You; That neither You, nor any other, may hereafter measure My Cause by the Success, nor My judgement of things by My misfortunes: which I count the greater by far, because they have so far lighted upon You, and some others, whom I have most cause to love as well as My self; and of whose unmerited sufferings I have a greater sence, than of Mine own.

But this advantage of wisdom You have above most Princes, that You have begun, and now spent some years of discretion, in the
P experience

experience of Troubles, and exercise of patience; wherein Piety, and all Vertues, both Moral and Political, are commonly better planted to a thriving, as Trees set in winter, than in warmth and serenity of times; or amidst those delights, which usually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty; which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Vertue and Honor, or to be contented onely with some leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any real fruits, such as tend to the Publique good; for which princes should always remember they are born, and by providence designed.

The evidence of which different education, the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboam*: The one prepared, by many afflictions, for a flourishing Kingdom; the other softned, by the unpareld prosperity of *Solomons* Court; and so corrupted, to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honor and Kingdom, by those flatteries, which are as unseparable from prosperous Princes, as Flies are from fruit in Summer, whom adversity, like cold weather, drives away.

I had rather You should be *Charls le Bon*, than *le Grand*, Good, than Great; I hope God hath designed You to be both, having so early put You into that exercise of his Graces, and Gifts bestowed upon You, which may best weed out all vicious inclinations, and dispose You to those

Princely

Princely endowments and employments, which will most gain the love, and intend the welfare of those, over whom God shall place You.

With God I would have You begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Sovereign Disposer of the Kingdoms of the world; who pulleth down one, and setteth up another.

The best Government, and highest Sovereignty You can attain to, is, to be subject to him, that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit may rule in Your heart.

The true glory of Princes consists in advancing Gods glory, in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churches good; also in the dispensation of Civil Power, with Justice and Honor to the Publique Peace.

Piety will make You prosperous; at least it will keep You from being miserable: nor is he much a loser, that loseth all, yet saveth his own soul at last.

To which center of true happiness, God (I trust) hath, and will graciously direct all these black lines of affliction, which he hath been pleased to draw on Me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn Me nearer to himself. You have already tasted of that Cup, whereof I have liberally drank, which I look upon as Gods physick, having that in healthfulness which it wants in pleasure.

Above all, I would have You, as I hope You are already, well grounded and settled in Your

Religion: The best profession of which, I have ever esteemed that of *the Church of England*, in which You have been educated; yet I would have Your own Judgement and Reason now seal to that sacred Bond, which education hath written, that it may be judiciously Your own Religion, and not other mens custom or tradition, which You profess.

In this I charge You to persevere, as coming nearest to Gods Word for Doctrine, and to the Primitive examples for Government, with some little amendment, which I have elsewhere expressed, and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion, will not be more necessary for Your Soul's, than Your Kingdoms Peace, when God shall bring You to them.

For I have observed, that the Devil of Rebellion, doth commonly turn himself into an Angel of Reformation, and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights: When some mens Consciences accuse them for Sedition and Faction, they stop its mouth with the name and noise of Religion; when Piety pleads for peace and patience, they cry out Zeal.

So that, unless in this point You be well settled, You shall never want temptations to destroy You and Yours, under pretensions of Reforming matters of Religion; for that seems, even to worst men, as the best and most auspicious beginning of their worst designs.

Where,

Where, besides the Novelty, which is taking enough with the Vulgar, every one hath an affection, by seeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to be thought Zealous; hoping to cover those irreligious deformities, whereto they are conscious, by a severity of censuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying to any publique Discriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in Your judgement, and the Church well settled; Your partial adhering, as Head, to any one side, gains You not so great advantages in some mens hearts (who are prone to be of their Kings Religion) as it loseth You in others; who think themselves and their profession first despised, then persecuted by You: Take such a course, as may either with calmness and charity quite remove the seeming differences and offences by impartiality, or so order affairs in point of power, that You shall not need to fear or flatter any Faction. For if ever You stand in need of them, or must stand to their courtesie, You are undone: The Serpent will devour the Dove. You may never expect less of loyalty, justice, or humanity, than from those, who engage into religious Rebellion: Their interest is always made Gods; under the colours of Piety, ambitious Policies march, not only with greatest security, but applause, as to the populacy: You may hear from them *Jacobs* voice, but You shall feel they have *Esau's* hands.

Nothing seemed less considerable, than the Presbyterian faction in *England*, for many years, so compliant they were to Publique Order : nor indeed was their Party great, either in Church or State, as to mens judgements : But as soon as discontents drave men into Sidings (as ill humors fall to the disaffected part, which causes inflammations) so did all at first, who affected any novelties, adhere to that side, as the most remarkable and specious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the lesser Factions at first, were officious Servants to Presbytery, their great Master : till time and Military success, discovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part stakes, and leaving the joynt stock of Uniform Religion, pretended each to drive for their Party the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not onely of the Church and State, but even of Presbytery it self, which seemed and hoped at first to have ingrossed all.

Let nothing seem little or despicable to You, in matters which concern Religion, and the Churches peace, so as to neglect a ipeedy reforming, and effectual suppressing Errors and Schisms, which seem at first but as a hand-breadth, by seditious Spirits, as by strong winds are soon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When You have done justice to God, Your own
Soul

Soul and his Church, in the profession and preservation both of Truth and Unity in Religion: The next main thing on which Your prosperity will depend and move, is, that of Civil Justice, wherein the settled Laws of these Kingdoms, to which You are rightly Heir, are the most excellent rules You can govern by; which by an admirable temperament, give very much to Subjects industry, liberty and happiness; and yet reserve enough to the Majesty and Prerogative of any King, who owns his People as Subjects, not as Slaves; whose subjection, as it preserves their property, peace and safety, so it will never diminish Your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties; which consists in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry, and the benefit of those Laws, to which themselves have consented.

Never charge Your head with such a Crown, as shall by its heaviness oppress the whole body, the weakness of whose parts cannot return any thing of strength, honor or safety to the Head, but a necessary debilitation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is best shewed and exercised, in remitting, rather than exacting the rigor of the Laws; there being nothing worse than legal Tyranny.

In these two points, the preservation of established Religion and Laws, I may (without vanity) turn the reproach of My Sufferings, as to the worlds censure, into the honor of a kinde of

Martyrdom, as to the testimony of My own Conscience; the Troublers of My Kingdoms having nothing else to object against Me, but this, That I prefer Religion, and Laws established, before those alterations they propounded.

And so indeed I do, and ever shall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, than what hitherto have been chiefly used towards Me, Tumults, Armies, and Prisons.

I cannot yet learn that lesson, nor I hope ever will you, That it is safe for a King to gratifie any Faction, with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the publique Interest, and the good of the Community.

How God will deal with Me, as to the removal of these pressures and indignities, which his justice by the very unjust hands of some of My Subjects, hath been pleased to lay upon Me, I cannot tell: nor am I much solicitous, what wrong I suffer from men, while I retain in My soul, what I believe is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safety, that in Reason, Honor and Conscience I can; reserving onely what I cannot consent unto, without an irreparable injury to My own Soul, the Church, and My People, and to You also, as the next and undoubted Heir of My Kingdoms.

To which if the Divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are insuperable, shall in his due time after My decease bring You, as I hope he will;

will; My counsel and charge to You, is, That You seriously consider the former, real, or objected miscarriages, which might occasion My troubles, that You may avoid them.

Never repose so much upon any mans single counsel, fidelity, and discretion, in managing affairs of the first magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Justice) as to create in Your self, or others, a diffidence of Your own judgement, which is likely to be always more constant and impartial to the interests of Your Crown and Kingdom than any mans.

Next, beware of exasperating any Factions, by the crossness, and asperity of some mens passions, humors, or private opinions, imployed by You, grounded onely upon the differences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivance and Christian toleration often dissipates their strength, whom rougher opposition fortifies; and puts the despised and oppressed Parry, into such Combinations, as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their Persecutors, who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration, which attends all, that are said to suffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided the differences amount not to an insolent opposition of Laws, and Government, or Religion established, as to the essentials of them, such motions and minings are intolerable.

Always

Always keep up solid piety, and those fundamental Truths (which mend both hearts and lives of men) with impartial favor and justice.

Take heed, that outward circumstances and formalities of Religion devour not all, or the best encouragements of learning, industry, and piety; but with an equall eye, and impartial hand distribute favors and rewards to all men, as You finde them for their real goodness, both in abilities and fidelity worthy and capable of them.

This will be sure to gain You the hearts of the best, and the most too; who, though they be not good themselves, yet are glad to see the severer ways of vertue at any time sweetned by temporall rewards.

I have, You see, conflicted with different and opposite Factions; (for so I must needs call and count all those, that act not in any conformity to the Laws established, in Church and State) no sooner have they by force subdued what they counted their Common Enemy, (that is, all those that adhered to the Laws, and to Me) and are secured from that fear; but they are divided to so high a rivalry, as sets them more at defiance against each other, than against their first Antagonists.

Time will dissipate all factions, when once the rough horns of private mens covetous and ambitious designs, shall discover themselves; which were at first wrapt up and hidden under the soft and smoooth pretensions of Religion, Reformation,

formation, and Liberty: As the Wolf is not less cruel, so he will be more justly hated, when he shall appear no better than a Wolf under Sheeps cloathing.

But as for the seduced Train of the Vulgar, who in their simplicity follow those disguises; My charge and counsel to You, is, That as You need no palliations for any designs, (as other men) so that You study really to exceed (in true and constant demonstrations of goodness, piety, and virtue, towards the People) even all those men that make the greatest noise and ostentations of Religion; so You shall neither fear any detection, (as they do, who have but the face and mask of goodness) nor shall You frustrate the just expectations of Your People; who cannot in Reason promise themselves so much good from any Subjects novelties, as from the virtuous constancy of their King.

When these mountains of congealed factions, shall by the sun-shine of Gods mercy, and the splendor of Your virtues, be thawed and dissipated; and the abused Vulgar shall have learned, That none are greater Oppressors of their Estates, Liberties and Consciences, than those men, that entitle themselves, The Patrons and Vindicators of them, onely to usurp power over them; Let then no passion betray You to any study of revenge upon those, whose own sin and folly will sufficiently punish them in due time.

But as soon as the forked arrow of factious emulations

emulations is drawn out, use all princely arts, and clemency to heal the wounds; that the smart of the cure may not equal the anguish of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indempnity, and Oblivion, to so great a latitude, as may include all, that can but suspect themselves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws; and which might serve to exclude all future Jealousies and insecurities.

I would have You always propense to the same way, when ever it shall be desired and accepted, let it be granted, not onely as an Act of State-policy and necessity, but of Christian charity and choice.

It is all I have now left Me, a power to forgive those, that have deprived Me of all; and I thank God, I have a heart to do it; and joy as much in this grace, which God hath given Me, as in all My former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of Gods love to Me, than any prosperity can be,

Be confident (as I am) that the most of all sides, who have done amiss, have done so, not out of malice, but mis-information, or mis-apprehension of things.

None will be more loyal and faithful to Me and You, than those Subjects, who sensible of their Errors, and our Injuries, will feel in their own Souls most vehement motives to repentance; and earnest desires to make some reparations for their former defects.

As

As Your quality sets You beyond any Duel with any Subject; so the nobleness of Your minde must raise You above the meditating any revenge, or executing Your anger upon the many.

The more conscious You shall be to Your own merits, upon Your People, the more prone You will be to expect all love and loyalty from them; and to inflict no punishment upon them for former miscarriages: You will have more inward complacency in pardoning one, than in punishing a thousand.

This I write to You, not despairing of Gods mercy, and My Subjects affections towards You; both which, I hope You will study to deserve, yet We cannot merit of God, but by his own mercy.

If God shall see fit to restore Me, and You after Me, to those enjoyments, which the Laws have assigned to Us; and no Subjects, without an high degree of guilt and sin, can devest Us of; then may I have better opportunity, when I shall be so happy to see You in peace, to let You more fully understand the things that belong to Gods glory, Your own honor, and the Kingdoms peace.

But if You never see My face again, and God will have Me buried in such a barbarous Imprisonment and obscurity, (which the perfecting some mens designs require) wherein few hearts that love Me are permitted to exchange a word,

or

or a look with Me; I do require and entreat You as Your Father, and Your KING, that You never suffer Your heart to receive the least check against, or disaffection from the true Religion established in the Church of *England*.

I tell You, I have tried it, and after much search and many disputes, have concluded it to be the best in the world; not onely in the Community, as Christian, but also in the special notion, as Reformed; keeping the middle way, between the pomp of superstitious Tyranny, and the meanness of fantastique Anarchy.

Not but that (the draught being excellent as to the main, both for Doctrine and Government, in the Church of *England*) some lines, as in very good figures, may haply need some sweetning, or polishing; which might here have easily been done by a safe and gentle hand, if some mens precipitancy had not violently demanded such rude alterations, as would have quite destroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The scandal of the late Troubles, which some may object, and urge to You against the Protestant Religion established in *England*, is easily answered to them, or Your own thoughts in this, That scarce any one who hath been a Beginner, or an active Prosecutor of this late War against the Church, the Laws, and Me, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practiser of the Protestant Religion, established in *England*: which neither gives such rules, nor ever before set such examples.

'Tis

'Tis true, some heretofore had the boldness to present threatening Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the same Faction (but of worse Spirits) have now put in execution: but let not counterfeit and disorderly Zeal abate Your value and esteem of true Piety, both of them are to be *known by their fruits*; the sweetness of the Vine and Figtree is not to be despised, though the Brambles and Thorns should pretend to bear Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor would I have you to entertain any aversion, or dislike of Parliaments; which in their right constitution with Freedom and Honor, will never injure or diminish Your greatness, but will rather be as interchangings of love, loyalty, and confidence, between a Prince, and his People.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have been other than such (however much biassed by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preserved from the insolencies of popular dictates, and tumultuary impressions: The sad effects of which, will no doubt, make all Parliaments after this, more cautious to preserve that Freedom, and Honor, which belongs to such Assemblies (when once they have fully shaken off this yoke of vulgar encroachment) since the publique interest consists in the mutual and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, than in fair, grave, and honorable ways, to contribute their

their Counsels in common, enacting all things by
publique consent; without tyranny or Tumult.
We must not starve our selves, because some
men have surfeited of wholesom food.

And if neither I, nor You, be ever restored to
Our Right, but God in his severest justice will
punish My Subjects, with continuance in their sin,
and suffer them to be deluded with the prosperi-
ty of their wickedness; I hope God will give
Me, and You, that grace, which will teach and
enable Us, to want, as well as to wear a Crown,
which is not worth taking up, or enjoying upon
fordid, dishonorable, and irreligious terms.

Keep You to true principles of piety, virtue,
and honor, You shall never want a Kingdom.

A principal point of Your honor will consist, in
Your preferring all respect, love, and protection
to Your Mother, My Wife; who hath many
ways deserved well of Me, and chiefly in this,
that (having been a means to bless Me with so
many hopeful Children; (all which, with their
Mother, I recommend to Your love and care)
She hath been content, with incomparable mag-
nanimity and patience, to suffer both for and
with Me, and You.

My prayer to God Almighty is, (whatever be-
comes of Me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up
and fortified in My own Innocency, and his
Grace) that he would be pleased to make You
an Anchor or Harbor rather, to these tossed and
weather-beaten Kingdoms; a Repairer, by Your
wisdom,

wisdom, justice, piety and valor, of what the folly and wickedness of some have so far ruined, as to leave nothing intire in Church or State; to the Crown; the Nobility, the Clergy, or the Commons; either as to Laws, Liberties, Estates, Order, Honor, Conscience or Lives.

When they have destroyed Me (for I know not how far God may permit the malice and cruelty of My Enemies to proceed; and such apprehensions some mens words and actions have already given Me) as I doubt not but My blood will cry aloud for vengeance to Heaven; so I beseech God, not to pour out his wrath upon the generality of the People, who have either deserted Me, or ingaged against Me, through the artifice and hypocrisie of their Leaders, whose inward honor will be their first tormenter, nor will they escape exemplary judgements.

For those that loved Me, I pray God they may have no miss of Me, when I am gone; so much I wish and hope, that all good Subjects may be satisfied with the blessings of Your presence and vertues.

For those that repent of any defects in their duty toward Me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian King, so I believe You will finde them truly zealous to pay with interest, that loyalty and love to You, which was due to Me.

In sum, what good I intended, do You perform, when God shall give You power: much good I have offered, more I purposed to Church

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and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soon vanish, and the Vizards will fall off apace: This mask of Religion, on the face of Rebellion (for so it now plainly appears, since My restraint and cruel usage, that they fought not for Me, as was pretended) will not long serve to hide some mens deformities.

Happy times, I hope, attend You, wherein Your Subjects (by their miseries) will have learned, *That Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King, cannot be parted, without both their sin and their infelicity.*

I pray God bless You, and establish Your Kingdoms in Righteousnes, Your Soul in true Religion, and Your Honor in the love of God and Your People.

And if God will have disloyalty perfected by My destruction, let My memory ever, with My name, live in You, as of Your Father that loves You; and once a KING of three flourishing Kingdoms; whom God thought fit to honor, not onely with the Scepter and Government of them, but also with the suffering many indignities; and an untimely death for them; while I studied to preserve the rights of the Church, the power of the Laws, the honor of My Crown, the priviledge of Parliaments, the liberties of My People, and My own Conscience; which, I thank God, is dearer to Me, than a thousand Kingdoms.

I know

I know God can, I hope he will restore Me to My Rights : I cannot despair either of his mercy, or of My Peoples love and pity.

At worst, I trust I shall but go before You to a better Kingdom, which God hath prepared for Me, and Me for it, through My Savior Jesus Christ, to whose mercies I commend You and all Mine.

Farewel, till We meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

XXVIII. *Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addresses, and His Majesties closer Imprisonment in Carisbrook-Castle.*

AS I have leisure enough, so I have cause more then enough to meditate upon, and prepare for My Death; for I know there are but few steps between the Prisons and Graves of Princes.

It is Gods indulgence, which gives Me the space, but Mans cruelty, that gives Me the sad occasions for these thoughts.

For, besides the common burthen of mortality, which lies upon Me, as a Man; I now bear the heavy load of other mens ambitions, fears, jealousies, and cruel passions, whose envy or enmity against Me, makes their own lives seem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of Mine.

I thank God, my prosperity made me not wholly a stranger to the contemplations of mortality.

Those are never unseasonable, since this is always uncertain: Death being an eclipse, which oft happeneth as well in clear, as cloudy days.

But My now long and sharp adversity, hath so reconciled in Me those natural Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men, that I thank God, the common terrors of it are dispelled; and the special horror of it, as to My particular, much allayed: for, although My death at present may justly be represented to Me, with all those terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruel and implacable enemies can put upon it (affairs being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I bless God, I can look upon all those stings, as unpoysenous, though sharp; since My Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given Me the Antidote of his Death against them; which as to the immaturity, injustice, shame, scorn and cruelty of it, exceeded whatever I can fear.

Indeed, I never did finde so much the life of Religion, the feast of a good Conscience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and constancy, as since I came to these closer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not so old, as to be weary of life; nor (I hope) so bad, as to be either afraid to dye, or ashamed to live: true, I am so afflicted, as might make Me sometime even desire to dye; if I did not consider, That it is the greatest glory of a Christians life, to *dye daily*, in conquering by a lively

a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life; those partial and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by piece-meals, and make us over-live our own fates; while We are deprived of health, honor, liberty, power, credit, safety or estate, and those other comforts of dearest relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though, as a KING, I think My self to live in nothing temporal so much, as in the love and good-will of My People; for which, as I have suffered many deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithstanding, My Enemies have used all the poyson of falsity, and violence of hostility to destroy, first the love and loyalty which is in My Subjects, and then all that content of life in Me, which from these I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed, they have left Me but little of life, and onely the husk and shell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from Me; having bereaved Me of all those worldly comforts, for which life it self seems desirable to men.

But, O My Soul! think not that life too long or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to do, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimity in a good Cause, as are the greatest honor of our lives, and the best improvement of our deaths.

I know, that in point of true Christian valor, it argues pusillanimity to desire to dye out of wearines of life, and a want of that heroick great-

ness of spirit which becomes a Christian, in the patient and generous sustaining those afflictions, which as shadows necessarily attend us, while we are in this body; and which are lessened or enlarged, as the Sun of our prosperity moves higher or lower, whose total absence is best recompenced with the dew of Heaven.

The assaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Sampsons* Lyon, but they yield much sweetness to those that dare to encounter & overcome them; who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds, without discontent or peevishness, while they may yet converse with God.

That I must dye as a Man, is certain; that I may dye a King, by the hands of My own Subjects, a violent, sudden, and barbarous death, in the strength of My years, in the midst of My Kingdoms; My Friends and loving Subjects being helpless Spectators: My Enemies insolent Revilers and Triumphers over Me, living, dying, and dead, is so probable in humane reason, that God hath taught Me not to hope otherwise, as to mans cruelty; however, I despair not of Gods infinite mercy.

I know My life is the object of the Devils and wicked mens malice; but yet under Gods sole custody and disposal: Whom I do not think to flatter for longer life, by seeming prepared to die, but I humbly desire to depend upon him, and to submit to his will, both in life and death, in what order soever he is pleased to lay them out to Me.

I confess it is not easie for Me, to contend with those many horrors of death, wherewith God suffers Me to be tempted; which are equally horrid, either in the suddenness of a barbarous Assassination; or in those greatest formalities, whereby My Enemies (being more solemnly cruel) will it may be, seek to adde (as those did, who crucified Christ) the mockery of Justice, to the cruelty of Malice: That I may be destroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice, so with less pity, it will be but a necessary policy, to make My death appear as an act of Justice, done by Subjects upon their Sovereign; who know that no Law of God or Man, invests them with any power of Judicature without Me, much less against Me: and who, being sworn and bound by all that is sacred before God and Man, to endeavor My preservation, must pretend Justice to cover their Perjury.

It is, indeed, a sad fate for any man to have his Enemies to be Accusers, Parties and Judges; but most desperate, when this is acted by the insolence of Subjects against their Sovereign; wherein those, who have had the chiefest hand, and are most guilty of contriving the publique Troubles, must by shedding My blood, seem to wash their own hands of that innocent blood, whereof they are now most evidently guilty before God and man; and I believe, in their own consciences too, while they carried on unreasonable demands, first by Tumults, after

by Armies. Nothing makes mean spirits more cowardly-cruel, in managing their usurped power against their lawful Superiors, than this, the *Guilt of their unjust Usurpation*; notwithstanding, those specious and popular pretensions of Justice against Delinquents, applyed onely to disguise at first, the monstrosousness of their designs, who despaired, indeed, of possessing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the Heir, whose right it is, be cast out and slain.

With them, My greatest fault must be, That I would not either destroy My self with the Church and State, by My word, or not suffer them to do it unresisted by the Sword; whose covetous ambition, no Concessions of Mine could ever yet either satisfie or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever think, that Kingdom of Brambles, which some men seek to erect (at once, weak, sharp, and fruitless, either to God or man) is like to thrive, till watered with the Royal blood of those, whose right the Kingdom is.

Well, Gods will be done, I doubt not but My innocency will finde him both My Protector, and My Advocate, who is My onely Judge, whom I own as a King of Kings, not onely for the eminency of his power and majesty above them; but also for that singular care and protection which he hath over them: who knows them to be exposed to as many dangers (being the greatest Patrons of Law, Justice, Order,

der, and Religion on Earth) as there be either Men or Devils, which love confusion.

Nor will he suffer those men long to prosper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones, and cement it with the blood of their Kings.

I am confident they will finde Avengers of My death among themselves: the injuries I have sustained from them, shall be first punished by them, who agreed in nothing so much as in opposing Me.

Their impatience to bear the loud cry of My blood, shall make them think no way better to expiate it, than by shedding theirs, who with them, most thirsted after Mine.

The sad confusions following My destruction, are already presaged and confirmed to Me by those I have lived to see since My troubles, in which, God alone (who onely could) hath many ways pleaded My cause; not suffering them to go unpunished, whose confederacy in sin was their onely security; who have cause to fear that God will both further divide, and by mutual vengeance, afterward destroy them.

My greatest conquest of Death, is from the power and love of Christ, who hath swallow'd up Death in the victory of his Resurrection, and the glory of his Ascension.

My next comfort is, that he gives Me not onely the honor to imitate his example *in suffering for righteousness sake*, (though obscured by the foulest charges of Tyranny and Injustice) but also,

also, that charity, which is the noblest revenge upon, and victory over My Destroyers: By which, I thank God, I can both forgive them, and pray for them, that God would not impute My blood to them, further than to convince them, what need they have of Christs blood to wash their souls from the guilt of shedding Mine.

At present, the will of My Enemies seems to be their onely rule, their power the measure, and their success the Exactor of what they please to call Justice; while they flatter themselves with the fancy of their own safety by My danger, and the security of their lives and designs by My Death: forgetting, that as the greatest temptations to sin are wrapped up in seeming prosperities, so the severest vengeance of God are then most accomplished, when men are suffered to compleat their wicked purposes.

I bless God, I pray not so much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may pass from Me, as that of his wrath may pass from all those, whose hands by deserting Me, are sprinkled, or by acting and consenting to My death, are embued with My blood.

The will of God hath confined, and concluded Mine; I shall have the pleasure of dying, without any pleasure of desired vengeance.

This I think becomes a Christian toward his Enemies, and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive Me of more than I am content to lose, when God sees fit, by their hands,

to take it from Me; whose mercy, I believe, will more then infinitely recompence what ever by mans injustice he is pleased to deprive Me of.

The glory attending My death will far surpass all I could enjoy, or conceive in life.

I shall not want the heavy and envied Crowns of this world, when My God hath mercifully crowned and consummated his graces with glory; and exchanged the shadows of My earthly Kingdoms among men, for the substance of that heavenly Kingdom with himself.

For the censures of the world; I know the sharp and necessary Tyranny of My Destroyers, will sufficiently confute the calumnies of Tyranny against Me; I am perswaded I am happy in the judicious love of the ablest and best of My Subjects, who do not onely pity and pray for Me, but would be content even to die with Me, or for Me.

These know, how to excuse My failings, as a man, and yet to retain, and pay their duty to Me as their King; there being no religious necessity binding any Subjects, by pretending to punish, infinitely to exceed the faults and errors of their Princes; especially there, where more then sufficient satisfaction hath been made to the publique; the enjoyment of which, private ambitions have hitherto frustrated.

Others, I believe, of softer tempers, and less advantaged by My ruine, do already feel sharp convictions, and some remorse in their consciences;

ences, where they cannot but see the proportions of their evil dealings against Me, in the measure of Gods retaliations upon them, who cannot hope long to enjoy their own thumbs and toes, having under pretence of paring others nails been so cruel, as to cut off their chiefest strength.

The punishment of the more insolent and obstinate, may be like that of *Korah* and his Complices (at once mutining against both Prince and Priest) in such a method of divine justice, as is not ordinary; the earth of the lowest and meanest people opening upon them, and swallowing them up in a just disdain of their ill-gotten and worse-used Authority: upon whose support and strength, they chiefly depended for their building, and establishing their designs against Me, the Church and State.

My chiefest comfort in death, consists in My peace, which, I trust, is made with God; before whose exact Tribunal, I shall not fear to appear, as to the Cause so long disputed by the Sword, between Me and My causeless Enemies: where I doubt not, but his righteous judgement will confute their fallacy, who from worldly success (rather like Sophisters, than sound Christians) draw those popular conclusions for Gods approbation of their actions; whose wise providence (we know) oft permits many events, which his revealed Word (the onely clear, safe, and fixed rule of good actions and good consciences) in no sort approves.

I am

I am confident, the Justice of My Cause, and clearness of My Conscience before God and toward My People, will carry Me as much above them in Gods decision, as their successes have lifted them above Me in the Vulgar opinion: who consider not, that many times those undertakings of men, are lifted up to Heaven in the prosperity and applause of the world, whose rise is from Hell, as to the injuriousness and oppression of the design. The prosperous winds which oft fill the sayls of Pirats, doth not justifie their piracy and rapine.

I look upon it with infinite more content and quiet of Soul, to have been worsted in My enforced contestation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land, the Freedom and honor of Parliaments, the Rights of My Crown, the just Liberry of My Subjects, and the true Christian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, then if I had, with the greatest advantages of success, over-born them all, as some men have now evidently done, whatever designs they at first pretended.

The prayers and patience of My Friends and loving Subjects, will contribute much to the sweetning of this bitter Cup, which I doubt not but I shall more cheerfully take, and think as from Gods hand (if it must be so) than they can give it to Me, whose hands are unjustly and barbarously lifted up against Me.

And, as to the last event, I may seem to owe
more

more to My Enemies, than My Friends; while those will put a period to the sins and sorrows attending this miserable life; wherewith these desire I might still contend.

I shall be more than Conqueror through Christ enabling Me; for whom I have hitherto suffered: as he is the Author of Truth, Order, and Peace; for all which I have been forced to contend, against Error, Faction, and Confusion.

If I must suffer a violent death, with My Saviour, it is but mortality crowned with Martyrdom: where the debt of death, which I owe for sin to nature, shall be raised as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept; and although death be the wages of My own sin, as from God, and the effect of others sins, as men, both against God and Me; yet as I hope My own sins are so remitted, that they shall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of My death, so I desire God to pardon their sins, who are most guilty of My destruction.

The Trophees of My charity will be more glorious and durable over them, than their ill-managed victories over Me.

Though their sin be prosperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned: Both which I pray God they may obtain; that My temporal death unjustly inflicted by them, may not be revenged by Gods just inflicting eternal death upon them: for I look upon the
tempo-

temporal destruction of the greatest King, as far less deprecable, than the eternal damnation of the meanest Subject.

Nor do I wish other, than the safe bringing of the ship to shore, when they have cast Me overboard; though it be very strange, that Mariners can finde no other means to appease the storm themselves have raised, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, My Enemies cruelty cannot prevent My preparation; whose malice in this I shall defeat, that they shall not have the satisfaction to have destroyed My Soul with My Body, of whose salvation, while some of them have themselves seemed and taught others to despair, they have onely discovered this, that they do not much desire it.

Whose uncharitable and cruel Restraints, denying Me even the assistance of any of My Chaplains, hath rather enlarged, than any way obstructed My access to the Throne of Heaven.

Where thou dwellest, O King of Kings; who fillest Heaven and Earth; who art the fountain of Eternal life, in whom is no shadow of death.

Thou, O God, art both the just Inflicter of death upon us, and the merciful Saviour of us in it, and from it.

Yea, it is better for us to be dead to our selves, and live in thee: than by living in our selves, to be deprived of thee.

O make the many bitter aggravations of my death, as a Man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy special graces and comforts in my Soul, as a Christian.

If thou Lord wilt be with me, I shall neither fear nor feel any evil, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death.

To contend with death, is the work of a weak and mortal man; to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almighty and immortal God.

O my Saviour, who knowest what it is to die with me as a man, make me to know what it is to pass through death to life with thee my God.

Though I die, yet I know that thou my Redeemer livest for ever: though thou slayest me, yet thou hast encouraged me to trust in thee for eternal life.

O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better than life.

O be not far from me, for I know not how near a violent and cruel death is to me.

As thy Omniscience, O God, discovers, so thy Omnipotence can defeat the designs of those, who have, or shall conspire my destruction.

O shew me the goodness of thy will, through the wickedness of theirs.

Thou givest me leave, as a man to pray, that this cup may pass from me; but thou hast taught me as a Christian, by the example of Christ, to adde, Not my will, but thine be done.

Yea, Lord, let our wills be one, by wholly resolving mine into thine: let not the desire of life in

me

me be so great, that if doing or suffering thy
will in either life or death. [last verse in, sum of 2013
As I believe thou hast forgiven all the sinners
of my life, so I hope thou wilt save me from the
terrors of my death. hold in most divine love O

Make me content to leave the worlds nothing,
that I may come really to enjoy all in thee, who
hast made Christ unto me in life, gain, and in
death, advantage.

Though my destroyers forget their duty to thee
and me, yet do not thou, O Lord, forget to be merciful
to them.

For, what profit is there in my blood, or in their
gaining my Kingdoms, if they lose their own
Souls?

Such as have not only resisted my just Power,
but wholly usurped and turned in against my self,
though they may deserve, yet let them not receive
to themselves damnation.

Thou madest thy Son a Sacrifice to many, thou
crucified Him, while at once he suffered violently
by them, and yet willingly for them.

O let the voice of his blood be heard for my mur-
derers, louder than the cry of mine against them.

Prepare them for thy mercy by due convictions
of their sin, and let them not at once deceive and
damn their own Souls, by fallacious pretensions of
Justice, in destroying me, while the conscience
of their unjust usurpation of power against me,
chiefly tempts them to use all extremities a-
gainst me.



*O Lord, thou knowest I have found thee
false to me, as very false; so very cruelly, who pre-
tending to preserve me, have meditated nothing
but my ruine.*

*O deal not with them as blood-thirsty and deceit-
ful men; but overcome their cruelty with thy
compassion and my charity.*

*And when thou makest inquisition for my blood,
O sprinkle their polluted, yet penitent Souls with
the blood of thy Son; that thy destroying Angel
may pass over them.*

*Though they think my Kingdoms on earth too
little, to entertain at once both them and me, yet
let the spacious kingdom of thy infinite mercy at
last receive both me and my enemies.*

*When being reconciled to thee in the blood of the
same Redeemer, we shall live far above these am-
bitious desires, which beget such mortal enmities.*

*When their hands shall be heaviest, and cruel-
lest upon me; O let me fall into the arms of thy
tender and eternal mercies.*

*That what is cut off of my life in this miserable
moment, may be repayed in thy ever-blessed eter-
nity.*

*O Lord, let thy servant depart in peace, for my
eyes have seen thy salvation.*

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt.



FINIS.

THE
P A P E R S

Which passed between
His MAJESTY and Mr. *Marshall*,
Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Caril*, and Mr.
Seaman, Ministers attending
the Commissioners of Parlia-
ment at the Treaty at *Newport* in
the Isle of *Wight*,
An. Dom. 1648.

Concerning CHURCH-GOVERNMENT
and EPISCOPACY.

THE
PAPER

WILLIAM B. BROWN

and Mr. Marshall

and Mr. C. B. Smith

and Mr. C. B. Smith

and Mr. C. B. Smith

and Mr. C. B. Smith

and Mr. C. B. Smith

and Mr. C. B. Smith

THE NEW YORK GOVERNMENT

and Mr. C. B. Smith

The Papers which passed between His Majesty and the Ministers attending the Commissioners of Parliament at the Treaty at Newport in the Isle of Wight, An. Dom. 1648. concerning Episcopacy.

His Majesties first Paper concerning Episcopacy.
Charles R.

I Conceive that *Episcopal Government* is most consonant to the Word of God, and of an Apostolicall institution, as it appears by the Scripture, to have been practised by the Apostles themselves, and by them committed, and derived to particular persons as their Substitutes or Successors therein (as for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, giving rules concerning Christian Discipline, and exercising censures over Presbyters and others) and hath ever since to these last times been exercised by Bishops in all the Churches of Christ; and therefore I cannot in conscience consent to abolish the said Government: notwithstanding this my perswasion, I shall be glad to be informed, if our Saviour and the Apostles did so leave the Church at liberty as they might totally alter or change the Church-Government at their pleasure: which if you can make appear to Me, then I will confesse that one of my great Scruples is clean

taken away: And then there onely remains:

That being by my Coronation Oath obliged to maintain Episcopal Government, as I found it settled to My hands; whether I may consent to the abolishing thereof, untill the same shall be evidenced to Me to be contrary to the Word of God.

Newport, 2 Octob. 1648.

*An humble Answer returned to your MAJESTIES
Paper, delivered to us Octob. 2. 1648.*

May it please your Majesty,

VVE doe fully agree without hesitation, That these Scriptures cited in the margin of your Paper, *Acts 14.23. Acts 6.6. 1 Cor. 16.1. 1 Cor. 14. 1 Cor. 5.3. 3 Iohn 9.10.* do prove, That the Apostles did ordain Presbyters and Deacons, give rules concerning Christian Discipline, and had power of censures over Presbyters and others; and that these places of Scripture, *1 Tim. 5.22. Titus 1.5. 1 Tim. 5.19. Titus 3.10.* do prove that *Timothy* and *Titus* had power to ordain Presbyters and Deacons, and to exercise Censures over others; and that the second and third Chapters of the *Revelations* do prove, That the Angels of the Churches had power of governing of the Churches, and exercising Censures: But that either the Apostles, or *Timothy* and *Titus*, or the Angels of the Churches were Bishops, as Bishops

shops are distinct from Presbyters, exercising Episcopal Government in that sense; or that the Apostles did commit and derive to any particular persons as their Substitutes and Successors, any such Episcopal Government; or that this is proved in the least measure by the Scriptures alledged, we do as fully deny: And therefore doe humbly deny also, That Episcopal Government is therefore most consonant to the Word of God, and of Apostolical institution, or proved so to be by these Scriptures. None of these were Bishops, or practised Episcopal Government, as Bishops are distinct from Presbytery; neither is such an Officer of the Church as a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter, to be found in the New Testament (by which we humbly conceive, That our faith and conscience touching this point ought to be concluded) The Name, Office, and Work of Bishop and Presbyter being one and the same in all things, and never in the least distinguished, and is clearly evident, *Titus 1.5,7. For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain Presbyters in every City, as I had appointed thee, for a Bishop must be blamelesse.* In which place the Apostles reasoning were altogether invalid and insequent, if Presbyter and Bishop were not the same Office, as well as they have the same name.

The same is manifest, *Acts 20.17,28.* And from *Miletus* he sent to *Ephesus*, & called the presbyters

of the Church, to whom he gave his charge, *verse 28. Take heed therefore unto your selves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you Bishops, to feed and govern the Church of God.* Where we observe, That the Apostle being to leave these presbyters, and never to see their faces more, *verse 38. doth charge them with the feeding and governing of the Church, as being Bishops of the Holy Ghosts making:* But that the Holy Ghost did make any superiour or higher kind of Bishops then these common Presbyters, is not to be found in that, or any other text.

And that under the mouth of 2 or 3 witnesses this assertion of ours may stand; we adde to what we have already said, That in the first of Peter *5. 1, 2. The Presbyters which are among you, I exhort, who am also a Presbyter, feed the flock of God which is among you, performing the Office of Bishops.* Where it appears plain to us, That under the words used in this place, is exprest whatsoever work the Presbyters do more for the government or good of the Church, otherwise then is there expressly enjoyned unto Presbyters. By all which that hath been said, The point is rendred most clear to the judgement of most men, both ancient and of latter times, That there is no such Officer to be found in the Scriptures of the New Testament, as a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter: Neither doth the Scripture afford us the least notice

tion of any qualification required in a Bishop, that is not required in a Presbyter: nor any Ordination to the Office of a Bishop, distinct from a Presbyter; nor any work or duty charged upon a Bishop, which Presbyters are not enjoined to do; nor any greater honour or dignity put upon them. For that double honour which the Apostles speak of, *1 Tim. 5. 17.* *As due to Presbyters that rule well,* is with a note of *especially* affixed to that act or work of labouring in the Word and Doctrine; which is not that act wherein Bishops have challenged a singularity or peculiar eminency above the Presbyters.

To that which your Majesty doth conceive, That Episcopal Government was practised by the Apostles themselves; We humbly answer, That the Apostles, as they were the highest Officers of the Church of Christ, so they were Extraordinary in respect of their Commission and gifts, and office, and distinguished from all other Officers, *1 Cor. 12. 28.* God hath set some in the Church; *First Apostles, Secondly Prophets, Thirdly Teachers,* Ephesians 4. 11. *Christ gave some Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Evangelists, and some Pastors, and some Teachers;* whereby the Apostles are distinguished from Pastors and Teachers, who are the ordinary Officers of the Church for preaching the word, and Government; that they had power and authority to ordain Church-Officers, and to exercise censures in all Churches

we affirm, and withall, that no persons or Officers of the Church may challenge or assume to themselves such power in that respect alone, because the Apostles practised it, except such power belong unto them in common, as well as to the Apostles, by warrant of the Scripture; for that Government which they practised was Apostolicall, according to that peculiar commission and authority which they had, and no otherwise to be called Episcopall, then as their office was so comprehensive, as they had power to do the work of any, or all other Church-officers; in which respect they call themselves *Presbyteri*, *Diaconi*, (but never *Episcopi* in distinct sense) and therefore we humbly crave leave to say, That to argue the Apostles to have practised Episcopall Government, because they ordained other Officers, and exercised censures, is, as if he should argue a Justice of peace to be a Constable, because he doth that which a Constable doth in some particulars. It is manifest that the Office of Bishops and Presbyters were not distinct in the Apostles, they did not act as Bishops in some acts, and as Presbyters in other acts; the distinction of Presbyters and Bishops being made by men in after times.

And whereas your Majesty doth conceive, that Episcopall Government was by the Apostles committed and delivered to particular persons, as their Substitutes or their Successors therein

wherein (as for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, giving rules concerning Christian Discipline, and exercising censures over Presbyters and others) seeming by the alledged places of Scripture to instance in *Timothy* and *Titus*, and the Angels of the Churches. We humbly answer:

1. And first to that of *Timothy* and *Titus*, we grant, That *Timothy* and *Titus* had authority and power of ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, and of exercising censures over Presbyters & others, though we cannot say they had this power as the Apostles Substitutes or Successors in Episcopal Government, nor that they exercised the power they had, as being Bishops in the sense of your Majesty, but as extraordinary Officers or Evangelists, which Evangelists were an Office in the Church, distinct from pastors and Teachers, *Ephesians* 4.11. And that they were Evangelists, it appears by their being sent up and down by the Apostles, or taken along with them in company to severall Churches, as the necessity and occasion of the Church did require, the one of them being expressly called an Evangelist, *2 Tim.* 4.5. And neither of them being any where in Scripture called Bishop, neither were they fixed to *Ephesus* and *Creet*, as Bishops in the Churches committed to them, but removed from thence to other places, and never, for ought appears in Scripture, returned to them again: And it seems clear to us, that neither their

abode

abode at Ephesus and Crete, was for any long time, nor so intended by the Apostle; for he employes them there upon occasionall business, and expresseth himself in such a manner, (*I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some, that they teach no other Doctrine, 1 Tim. 1.3. For this cause left I thee in Crete, Tit. 1.5.*) as doth not carry the fixing or constituting of a Bishop in a place as a perpetuall Governour: and it is as manifest, that they were both of them called away from these places, *2 Tim. 4.9. Do thy diligence to come to me shortly, Tit. 3.12. Be diligent to come to me to Nicopolis;* so that they may as well be called Bishops of any other City or Church where they had any considerable abode, as they are pretended to have been of Ephesus and Crete, as they are called by the post-scripts of these Apostles; the credit of which post-scripts we cannot build upon in this point.

2. Secondly, to that of the Angels of the Churches; the Ministers of the Churches are called Stars and Angels, which denominations are Metaphoricall and a Mystery, *Rev. 1.20.* The mystery of the seven Stars; Angels in respect of their mission or sending; Stars in respect of their station and shining. And it seems strange to us that so many expresse testimonies of Scriptures, and allegoricall denominations or mysteries should be opposed; these Angels being no
where

where called Bishops in vulgar acceptation, nor the word Bishop used in any of *John's* writings, who calls himself Presbyter; nor any mention of superiority of one Presbyter to another, but in *Diotrephes* affecting it. And as to that which may be said, that Epistles are directed to one, we answer, that a number of persons are in the mysterious and prophetic writings express in singulars. And we humbly conceive, that being written in an Epistolary style (for they are as Letters or Epistles to the Churches) these writings are directed as Letters to collective or representative bodies to be; that is, to one, but are intended and meant to the body in meeting assembled: which that they were so intended, is clear to us, both because there were in *Ephesus* Bishops and Presbyters one and the same, to whom the Apostle at his farewell commended the Government of the Church, and by divers expressions in these Epistles, as *Rev. 2. 24. To you and to the rest in Thyatira*; by which distinction of *you and the rest*, we conceive the Church-governments (which were more than one) and the people to be signified, and so cannot consent that any singular person had majority over the rest, or sole power of exercising Church-censures and Government spoken of in these Chapters.

Having thus (as we humbly conceive) proved by pregnant places of Scripture compared together, that the Apostles themselves did not institute

state or practise Episcopall Government, nor
 commit and derive it to particular persons as
 their Substitutes or Successors therein. We shall
 in further discharge of our duty to, and for the
 more clear and full satisfaction of your Majesty in
 this point, briefly declare into what Officers
 hands the ordinary and standing Offices of the
 Church were transmitted and derived by and
 from the Apostles. The Apostles had no Suc-
 cessors *in eundem gradum*: The Apostolicall Of-
 fice was not derived by succession, being institu-
 ted by Christ by extraordinary and special com-
 mission; but for the ordinary and standing use and
 service of the Church, there were ordained onely
 two orders of Offices, *viz.* Bishops and Deacons,
 which the Apostle expresseth, *Phil. 1. 1. To all the*
Saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi, with
the Bishops and Deacons: And onely of them doth
 the Apostle give the due characters of Officers:
1 Tim. 2. 3, 8. From both which places of Scrip-
 ture we conclude with ancient Expositors, both
 Greek and Latine, that Bishops are the same
 with Presbyters, and besides Presbyters there is
 no mention of any other Order but that of Dea-
 cons; of both which Orders there were in the
 Apostles times in one City more then one, as in
Philippi and *Ephesus*. And we humbly offer to
 your Majesty as observable, that though one
 Order might be superiour to another Order, yet
 in the same order of Officers there was not any
 one

one superiour to others of the same order; no Apostle was above an Apostle, no Evangelist above an Evangelist, no Presbyter above a Presbyter, no Deacon above a Deacon: and so we conclude this part, that since Church-Officers are instituted and set in the Church by God, or Jesus Christ; and that Ordination by or in which the Office is conveyed, it is of no other Officers but of Presbyters and Deacons; therefore there are no other orders of ordinary and standing Officers in the Churches of Christ.

As for the ages immediately succeeding the Apostles, we answer, 1. Our Faith reacheth no further then the holy Scriptures; no humane testimony can beget any more than a humane faith.

2. We answer, that it is agreed upon by learned men, as well such as contend for Episcopacy as others, that the times immediately succeeding the Apostles are very dark in respect of the History of the Church.

3. That the most unquestionable Record of those times gives clear testimony to our assertion, viz. The Epistle of *Clement* to the *Corinthians*, who reciting the order of Church-officers, expressly limits them to two, Bishops and Deacons; and they whom in one place he called Bishops, he always afterwards nameth Presbyters. The Epistles of *Ignatius* pretend indeed to the next antiquity, but are by some suspected as wholly spurious; and proved by *Videlinus* to be so mixed, that

that it is hard, if not impossible, to know what parts of them are genuine. Besides, Bishop *Usher* in his last observations on them, cap. 18. pag. 238. confesseth, that of the twelve of his Epistles six are counterfeit, the other six mixt, and none of them in every respect accounted sincere and genuine.

Fourthly, we grant, that not long after the Apostles times, Bishops in some superiority to Presbyters, are by the writers of those times reported to be in the Church; but they were set up not as a Divine Institution, but as an Ecclesiasticall (as afterwards both Arch-bishops and Patriarchs were) which is clear by Doctor *Reynolds* his Epistle to Sir *Francis Knowles*, wherein he shews out of Bishop *Jewel*, that *Ambrose*, *Chrysostome*, *Jerome*, *Augustine*, and many more holy Fathers, together with the Apostle *Paul*, agree, that by the Word of God there is no difference between a Presbyter and a Bishop: and that *Medina* in the Council of *Trent* affirms not only the same Fathers, but also another *Ierome*, *Theodoret*, *Primatius*, *Sedulius*, and *Theophylact*, to be of the same judgement; and that with them agreed *Oecumenius*, *Anselm* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and another *Anselm*, *Gregory* and *Gratian*, and after them many others; that it was enrolled in the Canon Law for sound and Catholick Doctrine, and publickly taught by learned men; and addes, that all who have laboured in the Reformation

nation of the Church for these five hundred years, have taught that all Pastors, be they instituted Bishops or Priests, have equall authoritie and power by Gods Word. The same way goes *Lumbard* Master of the Sentences, and Father of the Schoolmen, who speaking of Presbyters and Deacons, saith, the Primitive Churches had those orders onely; and that we have the Apostles precept for them alone: with him agree many of the most eminent of that kind, and generally all the Canonists; to these we may adde *Sextus Senensis*, who testifies for himself and many others; and *Cassander*, who was called by one of the German Emperours, as one of singular ability and integrity, to inform him and resolve his conscience in questions of that nature, who sayes, it is agreed among all the Apostles times, there was no difference betwixt a Bishop and a Presbyter.

For a conclusion we adde, that the doctrine which we have herein propounded to your Majesty concerning the identity of the order of Bishops and Presbyters, is no other then the doctrine published by King *Henry* the eighth, 1543. for all his Subjects to receive, seen and allowed by the Lords both Spirituall and Temporall, with the nether House of Parliament: of these two Orders onely (so saith his Book,) that is to say, Priests and Deacons, the Scripture maketh expresse mention, and how they were conferred by the

the Apostles by prayer, and imposition of the hands: by all which it seems evident, that the order of Episcopacy, as distinct from Presbyters, is but an Ecclesiasticall institution, and therefore not unalterable.

Lastly, we answer, that that Episcopall Government which at first obtained in the Church did really and substantially differ from Episcopall Government which the honourable Houses of Parliament desire the abolition of. The Bishop of these times was one presiding in, and joyning with the Presbytery of his Church ruling with them, and not without them, either created and made by the Presbyters chusing out one among themselves, as in *Rome* and *Alexandria*, or chosen by the Church, and confirmed by three or more of his neighbours of like dignity within the same precinct. Lesser Towns and Villages had and might have had Bishops in them as well as populous and eminent Cities, untill the Council of *Sardis* decreed, that Villages and small Cities should have no Bishops, lest the name and authority of a Bishop might thereby come into contempt; but of one claiming as his due and right to himself alone, as a superiour order or degree, all power about Ordination of Presbyters and Deacons, and all jurisdictions, either to exercise himself, or delegate to whom he will of the Laity or Clergy, as they distinguish according to the judgement and practise of these in

our times, we read not till the later and corrupter ages of the Church.

By all which it appears, that the present Hierarchy, (the abolition whereof is desired by the Honourable Houses may be accordingly abolished;) and yet possibly the Bishops of these primitive times might be, they are so far differing from one another.

In answer to that part of your Majesties Paper, wherein you enquire whether our Saviour and his Apostles did so leave the Church at liberty, as they might totally alter or change the Church-Government at their pleasure; we humbly conceive that there are substantials belonging to Church-Government, such are appointed by Christ and his Apostles, which are not in the Churches liberty to alter at pleasure: But as for Arch-Bishops, &c. we hope it will appear unto your Majesties conscience, that they are none of the Church-Governours appointed by our Saviour and his Apostles; we beseech your Majesty, rather to look to the originall of them than Succession.



[T]

260 His Majesties James & Charles
*His MAJESTIES Answer to the Paper delivered to
Him by the Ministers attending the Parliaments
Commissioners.*

Concerning CHURCH-GOVERNMENT.

C. R.

His Majesty, upon perusall of your Answer to His Paper the second of *Octob.* 1648. findeth that you acknowledge the severall Scriptures cited in the Margin, to prove the thing for which they are cited, *viz.* that the Apostles in their own persons, that *Timothy* and *Titus* by authority derived from them, and the Angels of the Churches had power of Church-government, and did or might actually exercise the same in all the three severall branches in His Paper specified; and so in effect you grant all that is desired. For the Bishops challenge no more or other power to belong unto them in respect of their Episcopall Offices, as it is distinct from that of Presbyters, then what properly falleth under one of these three, ordaining, giving Rules, and Censures.

But you presently after deny the persons that exercised the power aforesaid to have been Bishops, or had exercised Episcopall Government in that sense, as Bishops are distinct from Presbyters: wherein you do in effect deny the very
same

same thing you had before granted: for Episcopall Government in that sense being nothing else but the government of the Churches within a certain precinct (commonly called a Diocesse) committed to one single person, with sufficient authority over the Presbyters and people of those Churches for that end; since the substance of the thing it self in all the three forementioned particulars is found in the Scriptures, unlesse you will strive about names and words (which tendeth not to profit, but to the puzzling and subverting of those that seek after truth) you must also acknowledge that Episcopal Government in the sense aforesaid may be sufficiently proved from Scripture.

In that which you say next, and for proof thereof insist upon three severall Texts, *Titus* 1.5,7. *Acts* 20.17,18. *1 Pet.* 5.1,2. His Majesty conceives (as to the present businesse) that the most that can be proved from all or any of those places, is this, that the word *Bishop* is there used to signifie a Presbyter, and that consequently the office and work mentioned in those places as the office and work of a Bishop, are the office and work of a Presbyter; which is confess'd on all sides, although his Majesty is not sure that the proof will reach so far in each of those places. But from thence to infer an absolute Identity of the Functions of a Bishop and Presbyter, is a fallacy, which his Majesty observes to run in a man-

ner quite along your whole answer: but it appears from the Scriptures, by what you have granted, that single persons (as *Timothy* and *Titus* for example) had authority to perform such acts and offices of Church-Government, as his Majesty hath not yet found by any thing represented unto him by you or any other from the Scripture, that a single Presbyter ever had authority to perform; which is enough to prove that there may be community of names in some places, notwithstanding the functions themselves are in other places by their proper work sufficiently distinguished.

But for the name *Episcopus*, or *Bishop*, his Majesty hath long since learned from those that are skilfull in the Greek tongue, that it imports properly no more then an Over-seer, one that hath the charge or inspection of something committed unto him, as he that is set to watch a Beacon, or to keep Sheep; whence in the New Testament, and in the Ecclesiasticall use, it is applyed to such persons as have the care and inspection of the Churches of Christ committed unto them in *Spiritualibus*, as both Bishops and Presbyters have in some sort, but with this difference, that meer Presbyters are *Episcopi gregis*, onely they have the over-sight of the flock in the duties of preaching, administration of Sacraments, publick prayer, exhorting, rebuking, &c. but Bishops are *Episcopi gregis & pastorum* with

in their severall precincts, in the acts of external government; so that the common work of both Functions is the Ministry of the Gospel: but that which is peculiar to the Function of Bishops as distinguish'd from Presbyters, is Church-Government. It is not therefore to be wondred, if it should happen in the New Testament, the word *Episcopus* to be usually applyed unto Presbyters, who were indeed over-seers of the flock, rather than unto Church-Governours, who had then a title of greater eminency, whereby to distinguish them from ordinary Presbyters, to wit, that of Apostles. But when the government of Churches came into the hands of their Successors; the names were by common usage (which is the best master of words) very soon appropriated, that of *Episcopus* to the Ecclesiasticall Governour or Bishops of a Diocese, and that of Presbyter to the ordinary Ministers or Priests.

His Majesty hath rather cause to wonder, That upon such premises you should conclude with so much confidence, as if the point were rendred most cleare to the judgement of most men, both ancient and of later times, that there is no such Officer to be found in the Scriptures of the New Testament as a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter, when as his Majesty remembreth to have seen cited, by such Authors as he hath no reason to suspect, both out of the anti-

264 His Majesties former Paper and
and Fathers and Councils, and out of sundry mo-
dern Writers, even of these reformed Church-
es that want Bishops, great varieties of Testimo-
nies to the contrary.

His Majesty is not satisfied with your Answer
concerning the Apostles exercise of Episcopall
Government, which you would put off, by re-
ferring it to their extraordinary calling; our Sa-
viour himself was the first and chief Apostle and
Bishop of our souls, sent by the Father, and a-
nointed by the holy Ghost to be both the Tea-
cher and the Governour of his Church. By that
Mission he received authority, and by Uction
abilities for these works, which he perfor-
med in his own person, whilst he lived up-
on the earth: before he left the world, that
the Church might not want teaching and go-
verning to the worlds end, he chose certain per-
sons upon whom he conferred both these pow-
ers, whereby they became also Apostles and Bi-
shops, by making them partakers both of his
Mission before his Ascension (*As my Father sent
me so I send you*) and of his Uction shortly after
his Ascension, when he poured upon them
the holy Ghost at Pentecost. The Mission both
for teaching and governing (at least for the sub-
stance of it) was ordinary, and to continue to
the end of the world, *Matth. 28. 18, 20.* and
therefore necessarily to descend, and be by them
transmitted to others as their Substitutes or
Suc-

Successors. But the unction whereby they were enabled to both Offices or Functions, by the effusion of the holy Ghost, in such a plentiful measure of Knowledge, Tongues, Miracles, Prophecyings, Healing, Infallibility of Doctrine, discerning of Spirits, and such like, was indeed extraordinary in them, and in some few others, though in an inferiour measure, as God saw it needful for planting of the Churches, and propagation of the Gospel in those primitive times; and in this (which was indeed extraordinary in them) they were not necessarily to have Successors. But it seemes very unreasonable to attribute the exercise of that power, whether of teaching or governing to an extraordinary calling, which being of necessary and continuall use in the Church, must therefore of necessity be the work of a Function of ordinary and perpetuall use; therefore the acts of governing of the Church, were no more nor otherwise in the Apostles, than the acts of teaching the Church were; that is to say, both extraordinary for the manner of performance, in respect of their more than ordinary abilities for the same, and yet both ordinary for the substance of the Offices themselves, and the works to be performed therein; and in these two ordinary Offices, their ordinary Successors are Presbyters and Bishops; Presbyters *qua* Presbyters immediate-

ly succeeding them in the office of teaching: and Bishops *qua* Bishops immediately in the office of Governing.

The instances of *Timothy* and *Titus*, you likewise endeavoured to avoid by the pretention of an extraordinary calling. But in this answer the insufficiency thereof is such (if all that is said therein could be proved) that his Majesty findeth very little satisfaction.

1. First you say that *Timothy* and *Titus* were (by Office) Evangelists: whereas of *Titus*, the Scripture no-where implies any such thing at all, and by your own Rule, Authority without Scripture will beget (if that) but a Humane Faith, neither doth the Text clearly prove that *Timothy* was so.

2. Setting aside mens conjectures (which can breed but an humane faith neither) you cannot make it appear by any Text of Scripture, that the Office of an Evangelist is such as you have described it; The work of an Evangelist which Saint *Paul* exhorteth *Timothy* to do, seems by the context (2 *Tim.* 2. 4, 5.) to be nothing but diligence in preaching the Word, notwithstanding all impediments and opposition.

3. That which you so confidently affirm, That *Timothy* and *Titus* acted as Evangelists, is not onely denied, but clearly refuted by *Scullerus*, *Gerrard*, and others; yea even with scorn

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rejected of late, (as his Majesty is informed) by
some rigid Presbyterians, as *Gillespie*, *Rutherford*, &c. And that which you so confidently
deny, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Bishops, is
not onely confirmed by the consentient testimo-
ny of all Antiquity (even *Jerome* himself having
recorded it, that they were Bishops, and that
of Saint *Pauls* Ordination) and acknowledged
by very many late Divines: but a Catalogue
also of twenty seven Bishops of *Ephesus* lineally
succeeding from *Timothy*, out of good Records, is
vouched by *Reynolds* against *Hart*, and by other
Writers.

4. You affirme, but upon very weak proofes,
That they were from *Ephesus* and *Crete* remo-
ved to other places. Some that have exactly
out of Scripture compared the times and or-
ders of the severall journeyes and stations of
Saint *Paul* and *Timothy*, have demonstrated the
contrary concerning that particular.

5. Whereas you say it is manifest from
the 2 *Timothy*, 4. 9. and *Titus*, 3. 12. That they
were called away from these places; it doth
no more conclude, that they were not Bi-
shops there, or that they might as well be
called Bishops of other Churches, then it
may be concluded from the attendance of
the Divines of the Assembly at *Westminster*,
that they are not Parsons or Vicars of their se-
veral parishes.

Last-

Y^e Lastly, for the postscripts of these Epistles, though his Majesty lay no great weight upon them, yet he holdeth them to be of great antiquity, and therefore such as in question of fact, where there appears no strong evidence to weaken their belief, ought not to be lightly rejected. Neither doth this lay any weight at all upon the Allegory or mystery of the denomination in the next point concerning the Angels of the Church, as you mistake in your answer thereunto; wherein his Majesty findes as little satisfaction as in the last point before. The strength of his Majesties instance lay in this, that by the judgement of all the ancient and the best modern Writers, and by many probabilities in the Text it self, the Angels of the Seven Churches were *persona singulares*, and such as had a Prelacy as well over Pastors as people within their Churches, and that is in a word Bishops. And you bring nothing of moment in your answer to infirm this: you say truly indeed, That those Epistles were written in an Epistolary style, & so as Letters to collective or representative bodies use to be directed to one, but intended to the body. Which when you have proved, you are so far from weakening, that you rather strengthen the argument to prove the Angels to have been single persons: As when his Majesty sendeth a Message to His two Houses, and directs it to the Speaker of the House of Peers, his intending it

in the whole House, doth not hinder, but that the Speaker to whom it is directed is one single person still. Yet his Majesty cannot but observe in this (as in some parts of your answer) how willing you are *versari in generalibus*, and how unwilling to speak out, and to declare plainly and directly what your opinion is concerning those Angels, who they were, whether they were the great Antichrist of Episcopacy; *Salmasius* very peremptorily (*sic ergo hoc fixum, &c.*) affirmeth, the whole Churches, or so many individual Pastors of the greater Church in these Cities, or the whole Colledge of Presbyters in the respective Churches, or the singular and individual Presidents of these Colledges. For into so many severall opinions are these few divided among themselves, who have divided themselves from the common and received judgement of the Christian Church.

In the following Discourse you deny that the Apostles were to have any successors in their Office, and affirm, that they were to be onely two Orders of ordinary and standing Officers in the Church, *viz. Presbyters and Deacons.*

What his Majesty conceiveth concerning the Successors of the Apostles, is in part already declared, *viz.* That they have no Successors *in eundem gradum*, in respect of these things that were extraordinary in them, as namely the measure of their gifts, the extent of their charge, the infallibility

bility of their doctrine, and (which is sundry times mentioned as a special character of an Apostle properly so called) they having seen Christ in the flesh. But in these things that were not extraordinary (and such those things are to be judged which are necessary for the service of the Church in all times, as the Office of Teaching, and the power of Governing are) they were to have and hold Successors; and therefore the learned and godly Fathers and Councils of old times, did usually stile Bishops the Successors of the Apostles, without any scrupling thereat.

And as to the standing Officers of the Church, although in the place by you cited, *Phil. 1. 1. 1 Tim. 3. 8.* there be no mention of Bishops as distinct from Presbyters, but of the two Orders onely of Bishops or Presbyters and Deacons, yet it is not thereby proved that there is no other standing Office in the Church besides, for there appears two other manifest Reasons, why that of Bishops might not be so proper to be mentioned in those places; the one, because in the Churches which the Apostles themselves planted, they placed Presbyters under them for the Office of teaching, and took upon themselves the care, and reserved in their own hands, the power of governing of these Churches for a longer or shorter time, as they saw it expedient for the propagating of the Gospel, before they set Bishops over them; and so it may
 valid be

be probable that there was as yet no Bishop set over the Church of *Philippi*, when Saint *Paul* writ his Epistle to them: The other, because in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, the persons to whom he wrote being themselves Bishops, there was no need to write any thing concerning the choice or qualification of any other sort of Officers, then such as belonged to their ordination or inspection which were Presbyters and Deacons onely, and no Bishops.

Concerning the Ages succeeding the Apostles.

First, his Majesty believeth, that although Faith, as it is an assent unto truth supernaturall, or of Divine Revelation, reacheth no further then the Scriptures, yet in matters of fact, humane testimonies may beget a faith; though humane, yet certain and infallible, as by credit of Histories we have an infallible faith that *Aristotle* was a Greek Philosopher, and *Cicero* a Roman Orator.

2. The darknesse of these times in respect of the History of the Church, is a very strong Argument for Episcopacy; for that notwithstanding the darknesse of the times, there is found so full and clear a proof, by the unquestioned Catalogues extant in ancient Writers of the Bishops of sundry famous Cities, as *Jerusalem*, *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, *Rome*, *Ephesus*, &c, in a continued succession from the Apostles, as scarce any other matter of fact hath found the like.

3. In *Clements* testimony cited by you, his Majesty conceiveth you make use of your old fallacy, from the promiscuous use of the words to infer the indistinction of the things, for who can doubt of *Clements* opinion concerning the distinct Offices of Bishops and Presbyters, who either readeth his whole Epistle, or considereth that he himself was a Bishop in that sense: even by the confession of *Videlius* himself, a man never yet suspected to favour Bishops, who saith, after the death of *Linus* and *Cletus*, *Clemens solus Episcopi nomen retinuit, quia jam invaluerat distinctio Episcopi & Presbyteri*; and for *Ignatius* his Epistles, though some of late out of their partiall dis-affection to Bishops, have endeavoured to discredit the whole Volume of them by all possible means, without any regard either of ingenuity or truth, yet sundry of them are such, as being attested by the suffrages of Antiquity, cannot with any fore-head be denied to be his; and there is scarce any of them which doth not give testimony to the Prelacy of a Bishop above a Presbyter: *Ignatius* himself was a Bishop of *Antioch*, and a holy Martyr for the faith of *Christ*.

4. You grant, that not long after the Apostles times Bishops are found in the Writers of those times, reported as in some superiority to Presbyters; but you might have added farther out of these Writers (if you had pleased) that

that they were some of them, as *James* at *Jerusalem*, *Timothy* at *Ephesus*, *Titus* in *Greece*, *Mark* at *Alexandria*, *Linus* and *Clement* at *Rome*, *Polycarpus* at *Smyrna*, constituted and ordained Bishops of these places by the Apostles themselves, and all of them reputed Successors to the Apostles in their Episcopall Office: and his Majesty presumeth you could not be ignorant, that all or most of the testimonies you recite of the ancient Fathers, Writers of middle ages, School-men and Canonists, and the Book published under King *Henry* the 8. do but either import the promiscuous and indifferent use of the names of Bishops and Presbyters, whereof advantage ought not to be made to take away the difference of the things, or else they relate to a school-point (which in respect of the thing it self is but a very nicety) disputed *pro* and *con* by curious Questionists, *Utrum Episcopatus sit ordo vel gradus*, both sides in the mean time acknowledging the right of Church-Government to be in the Bishops alone, and not in the Presbyters, as also that there may be produced either from the very same Writers, or from others of as good authority or credit, testimonies both for number and clearness far beyond those by you mentioned, to assert the three different degrees or orders (call them whether you will) of Ecclesiasticall Functions (*viz.*) the Bishop, the Presbyter, and the Deacon.

As to that which you addelastly, concerning
the difference between primitive Episcopacy, and
the present Hierarchy, albeit his Majesty doth
conceive, that the accessions or additions granted
by the favour of his Royal progenitors, for the en-
larging of the power or priviledges of Bishops,
have not made, or indeed can make the Govern-
ment really and substantially to differ from what
formerly it was, no more then the Addition of
Armes or Ornaments can make a body really
and substantially to differ from it self naked, or
devested of the same; nor can think it either ne-
cessary or yet expedient, that the elections of the
Bishops, and some other circumstantial touch-
ing their persons or Office should be in all re-
spects the same under Christian Princes, as it
was when Christians lived among Pagans, and
under persecution; yet his Majesty so far ap-
proveth of your Answer in that behalf, that he
thinketh it well worthy the studies and ende-
vours of Divines of both opinions, laying aside
emulation and private interests, to reduce Epi-
scopacy and Presbytery into such a well-propor-
tioned form of superiority and subordination, as
may best resemble the Apostolicall and primi-
tive times, so far forth as the different condition of
the times, and the exigents of all considerable
circumstances will admit, so as the power of
Church-Government in the particular Ordina-
tion which is meerly spirituall, may remain au-

authoritative in the Bishop, but that power not to be exercised without the concurrence or assistance of his Presbytery; as *Timothy* was ordained by the authority of *S. Paul*, *2 Tim.* 1.6. but with the concurrence or assistance of the Presbytery, *1 Tim.* 4. 14. Other powers of government which belong to jurisdiction (though they are in the Bishops, as before is express'd) yet the outward exercise of them may be ordered and disposed, or limited by the Sovereign power, to which by the laws of the place and the acknowledgement of the Clergy they are subordinate; but his Majesty doubteth whether it be in your power to give him any perfect assurance, that in the desired abolition of the present Hierarchy, the utter abolishing of Episcopacy, and consequently of Presbytery, is neither included nor intended.

As to the last part of his Majesties Paper, his Majesty would have been better satisfied, if you had been more particular in your answer thereunto; you tell him in generall, that there are substantials in Church-Government appointed by Christ, &c. but you neither say what these substantials are, nor in whose hands they are left; whereas his Majesty expected that you would have declared your opinions clearly, whether Christ or his Apostles left any certain form of government to be observed in all Christian Churches; then whether the same binds all Churches to the particular observation thereof;

or whether they may upon occasion alter the same, either in whole or in part. Likewise whether that certain form of Government which Christ and his Apostles have appointed as perpetual and unalterable (if they have appointed any such at all) be the Episcopall, or the Presbyterian Government, or some other differing from them both.

And whereas in the conclusion you beseech his Majesty to look rather to the Original of Bishops, then to their Succession; his Majesty thinks it needful to look at both; especially since their Succession is the best clue, the most certain and ready way to find out their originall.

His Majesty having returned you this answer, doth profess, that whatever is of weight in yours, shall have influence on him; so he doubts not but somewhat may appear to you in His which was not so clear to you before: and if this debate may have this end, that it dispose others to the temper of accepting reason, as it shall him of endeavouring to give satisfaction in all He can to the two Houses, his Majesty believes, though it hath taken up, it hath not mis-spent his time.

Newport, Octob. 6.



The Answer of the Ministers attending the Commissioners of Parliament, to the second Paper delivered to them by His Majesty, Octob. 6. 1648.

Delivered to His Majesty, Oct. 17.

May it please your Majesty,

AS in our Paper of *Octob. 3.* in answer to your Majesties of *Octob. 2.* we did, so now again we do acknowledge, that the Scriptures cited in the margin of your Majesties Paper, do prove, that the Apostles in their own persons, that *Timothy* and *Titus*, and the Angels of the Churches, had power respectively to do those things which are in those places of Scripture specified: But as then, so now also, we humbly do deny, that any of the persons or Officers aforementioned were Bishops, as distinct from Presbyters, or did exercise Episcopall Government in that sense: or that this was in the least measure proved by the alledged Scriptures; and therefore our *Negative* not being to the same point, or state of the Question which was *affirmed*, we humbly conceive that we should not be interpreted to have in effect denied the very same thing which we had before granted, or to have acknowledged that the severall Scriptures do prove the thing for which they are cited by your Majesty: and if that which we granted were all, that by the Scriptures cited in your margin your Majesty inten-

278 *The second Paper delivered to His Majesty*
ded to prove ; It will follow, That nothing hath
yet been proved on your Majesties part, to make
up that conclusion which is pretended.

As then we stood upon the Negative to that
assertion, so we now crave leave to represent
to your Majesty, that your reply doth not in-
firm the evidence given in maintenance thereof.
The Reason given by your Majesty, in this
paper, to support your assertion, That the per-
sons that exercised the power aforesaid were
Bishops in distinct sense, is taken from a descrip-
tion of Episcopall Government ; , Which is
' (as your Majesty saith) nothing else, but the
' Government of the Churches within a certain
' precinct (commonly called a Diocesse) com-
' mitted to one single person, with sufficient au-
' thority over the Presbyters and people of
' those Churches for that end ; which Govern-
' ment so prescribed, being for substance of the
' thing it self in all the three forementioned par-
' ticulars, (Ordaining, giving rules of Discipline,
' and Censures) found in Scriptures, except we
' will contend about names and words, must be
' acknowledged in the sense aforesaid to be suf-
' ficiently proved from Scriptures : and your
' Majesty saith further, that the Bishops do not
' challenge more, or other power to belong to
' them, in respect of their Episcopall Office, as it
' is distinct from that of Presbyters, then what
' properly falls under one of those three.

We

We desire to speak both to the Bishops challenge, and to your Majesties Description of Episcopall Government. And first to their Challenge, because it is first exprest in your MAJESTIES Reply.

The Challenge we undertake in two Respects: 1. In respect of the power challenged. 2. In respect of that ground or Tenure upon which the claim is laid. The power challenged consists of three particulars; *Ordaining, giving Rules of Discipline, and Censures*. No more, no other, in respect of their Episcopall office. We see not by what warrant this writ of partition is taken forth, by which the Apostolicall office is thus shared or divided; the *Governing* part into the Bishops hands; the *teaching*, and *administering* Sacraments, into the Presbyters. For besides that the Scripture makes no such inclosure, or partition-wall; it appears the challenge is grown to more then was pretended unto in the times of grown Episcopacy. *Ferome* and *Chrysostome* do both acknowledge for their time, that the Bishop and Presbyter differed onely in the matter of Ordination: and learned Doctor *Bilson* makes some abatement in the claim of *three*, saying, the things proper to Bishops, which might not be common to Presbyters, are singularly of Succeeding, and Superiority in ordaining.

The *tenure* or ground upon which the claim is made, is Apostolicall, which with us is all one

with *Divine Institution*. And this, as far as we have learned, hath not been *anciently, openly, or generally* avowed in this Church of England, either in time of Popery, or of the first Reformation; and whensoever the pretension hath been made, it was not without the contradiction of learned and godly men. The abettors of the challenge, that they might resolve it at last into the Scripture, did chuse the most plausible way of ascending by the way of *Succession*; going up the River to find the Head: but when they came to Scriptures, and found it like the head of Nile (which cannot be found) they shrowded it under the name and countenance of the *Angels of the Churches*, and of *Timothy* and *Titus*. Those that would carry it higher, endeavoured to imp it into the *Apostolicall office*, and so at last called it a *Divine institution*, not in force of any *expresse precept*, but *implicite practise* of the Apostles: and so the *Apostolicall office* (excepting the gifts, or enablements confest onely extraordinary) is brought down to be *Episcopall*, and the *Episcopall* raised up to be *Apostolicall*. Whereupon it followes, that the *highest Officers* in the Church are put into a *lower orb*; an *extraordinary office* turned into an *ordinary distinct office*, confounded with that which in the Scripture is *not found*; a *temporary*, and an *extinct office* revived. And indeed, if the definitions of both be rightly made, they are so *incompatible* to the same

same Subject, that he that will take both must lose the one; *aut Apostolus Episcopatum, aut Apostolatus Episcopus*. For the Apostles, though they did not in many things *ut aliud*, yet they acted *alio nomine & alio munere*, then Presbyters, or Bishops can do, and if they were indeed Bishops, and their government properly Episcopall in distinct sense, then it is not needfull to go so far about to prove Episcopal government of Divine institution, because they practised it: but to assert expressly that Christ instituted it immediately in them.

For your Majesties *definition* of Episcopall government, it is extracted out of the Bishops of later date then Scripture-times, and doth not suite with that Meridian, under which there were more Bishops then one in a Precinct, or Church; and it is as fully competent to Archepiscopall, and Patriarchal government as Episcopal. The parts of this definition, *materially* and *abstractly* considered, may be found in Scripture: The Apostles *Timothy* and *Titus*, were single persons, but not limited to a Precinct; the government of the *Angels* was limited to a Precinct, but not in single persons. In severall offices not to be confounded, the parts of this definition may be found; but the aggregation of them altogether into one ordinary officer cannot be found. And if that word, *ordinary and standing Government*, had been made the *genus* in your Majesties

232 The second paper sheweth to the contrary
definition (as it ought to be) we should have
leave to say it would be *per se dictum*, *in se*
petitio principii for the Scripture doth mixt
all these parts together in a Bishop, who never
borrowed of Apostles, Evangelists and Angels
the matter of governing and ordaining, and left
the other of teaching, dispensing Sacraments,
and dealing onely *in foro interno*, to Prebyters,
untill after times. By this that hath been said,
it is manifest enough, that we contend not first
de nomine, about the name of Episcopall Go-
vernment; which yet (though names serve for di-
stinction) is not called or distinguished by that
name in Scripture. Nor secondly, *de opere*, about
the work, whether the work of Governing, Orde-
ring, preaching, &c. be of continuance in the
Church, which we clearly acknowledge. But
thirdly, *de munere*, about the Office, it being a
great fallacy to argue, That the Apostles did the
same work which Bishops or Presbyters are to do
in ordinary; therefore they were of the same
Office: for as it is said of the liberall and learned
Arts, one and the same thing may be handled in
divers of them, and yet these Arts are distinguisht
by the *formalis ratio* of handling of them, so we
say of Offices, they are distinguisht by their Cal-
lings and Commissions, though not by the
work, as all those that are named, (*Ephes. 4.*
11.) Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors,
and Teachers, are designed to one and the same
generall

general and common work. *The work of the Ministry*, verſe 12. And yet they are not therefore all one, for its ſaid, *ſome* Apoſtles, *ſome* Prophets, *ſome* Evangeliſts, and *ſome* Paſtors and Teachers; a *Dictator* in *Rome* and an ordinary *Tribune*, *Moses* and the ſubordinate Governors of *Iſrael*, The Court of *Parliament* and of the *Kings-Bench*, an *Apoſtle* and a *Presbyter* or *Deacon* may agree in ſome common work, and yet no confuſion of Offices followes thereupon.

To that which your Maſteſty conceives, that the moſt that can be proved from all, or any of thoſe places, by us alledged (to prove that the Name, Office, and Work of Biſhops and Presbyters is one and the ſame in all things, and not in the leaſt diſtinguiſht) is, that the word Biſhop is uſed in them to ſignifie a Presbyter, and that conſequently the Office and Work, mentioned in theſe places as the Office and Work of a Biſhop, are the Office of a Presbyter, which is confeſſed on all ſides: We make this humble return; That though there be no ſuppoſition ſo much as implied, that the Office of a Biſhop and a Presbyter are diſtinct in any thing (for the names are mutually reciprocally,) yet we take your Maſteſties conſeſſion, that in theſe times of the Church, & places of Scripture, there was no diſtinct Office of Biſhops and Presbyters, and conſequently that the identity of the Office muſt ſtand, until there
can

can be found a clear distinction or division in the Scriptures: and if we had argued the identity of functions from the *community* of names, and *some part* of the work, the Argument might have been justly termed a *fallacy*, but we proved them the same Office from the same work, *per omnia*, being allowed so to do by the fulnesse of those two words used in the *Acts* and *S. Peter* his Epistle, *ἐπισκοποι* & *πρεσβυτεροι*; under the force of which words the Bishops claim their whole power of Government and Jurisdiction: and we found no little weight added to our Argument from that in the *Acts*, where the Apostle departing from the *Ephesian Presbyters or Bishops*, as *never to see their faces more*, commits (as by a final charge) the Government of that Church, both over particular Presbyters and people, not to *Timothy* who then stood at his elbow, but to the Presbyters under the name of Bishops, *made by the holy Ghost*, whom we read to have set many Bishops over our Church, not one over either one or many: and the Apostles arguing from the same qualification of a Presbyter and of a Bishop in order to Ordination or putting him into Office, fully proves them to be two names of the same Order or Function, the *diverse Orders* of Presbyter and Deacon being diversly characterised: upon these grounds (we hope without fallacy) we conceive it justly proved that a Bishop and a Presbyter are wholly the same.

That

That *Timothy* and *Titus* were single persons, having authority of Government, we acknowledge; but deny, that from thence any argument can be made, unto either single Bishop or Presbyter: for though a single Presbyter by the power of his order (as they call it) may preach the Word and dispense the Sacraments; yet by that example of the Presbytery, their *laying on of hands*, and that rule of *telling the Church* in matter of scandal, it seems manifest, that Ordination and Censures are not to be exercised by a single Presbyter: neither hath your Majesty hitherto proved either the names of Bishops and Presbyters, or the Function, to be in other places of Scripture at all distinguished; you having wholly waved the notice or answer of that we did insert (and do yet desire some demonstration of the contrary) *viz.* that the Scripture doth not afford us the least notice of any qualification, any ordination, any work or duty, any honour peculiarly belonging to a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter; the assignment of which, or any of them unto a Bishop, by the Scripture, would put this question neare to an issue. That God should intend a distinct and highest kind of Officer for Government in the Church, and yet not express any qualification, work, or way of constituting and ordaining of him, seems unto us improbable. Concerning the signification of the word *Episcopus*, importing an Overseer, or one that

that hath a charge committed to him for instance, of watching a Beacon, or keeping Sheep, & the application of the name to such persons as have inspection of the Churches of Christ committed to them in *spiritualibus*: we also give our suffrage, but not to that distinction of *Episcopus gregis*, & *Episcopus pastorem* & *gregis*, both because it is the *res*, *verum* or point in question; and also because your Majesty having signified that *Episcopus* imports a keeper of sheep, yet you have not said that it signifies also a keeper of shepherds. As to that which is affirmed by your Maj. that the peculiar of the function of Bishops is Ch. government, & that the reason why the word *Episcopus* is so usually applied to Presbytery, was, because Church-governours had then another title of greater eminency, to wit, that of *Apostles*, until the government of the Churches came into the hands of their successors, and then the names were by common usage very soon appropriated, that of *Episcopus* to Ecclesiastical Governours, that of *Presbyter* to the ordinary Ministers: This assertion your Majesty is pleased to make without any demonstration; for the Scripture calls Presbyters Rulers, and Pastors and Teachers it calls Governours, and commits to them the charge of feeding and inspection, as we have proved, and that without any mention of Church-Government peculiar to Bishops: we deny not but some of the Fathers have conceived

yet the notion that Bishops were called Apostles, till the names of *Presbyter* and *Episcopus* became appropriate, which is either an allusion or conceit, without evidence of Scripture; for, while the Function was one the names were not divided; when the Function was divided, the name was divided also, and indeed inappropriate; but we that look for the same warrant for the division of an office as for the constitution, cannot find that this appropriation of names was made till afterwards, or in proceſſe of time, as *Theodoret* (one of the Fathers of this conceit) affirms, whose saying, when it is run out of the pale of Scripture-time we can no further follow: from which premises laid altogether, we did conclude the clearneſſe of our assertion, that in the *Scriptures of the New Testament*, a Bishop distinct from a *Presbyter* in *Qualification*, *Ordination*, *Office* or *Dignity*, is not found; the contrary whereof though your Majesty faith, that you have seen confirmed by great variety of credible testimonies; yet we believe these testimonies are rather strong in asserting, than in demonstrating the *Scriptures* Original of a Bishop, which is declared against by a cloud of witnesses, named in the later end of our former Answer; unto which we should refer, if matter of right were not proper-triable by Scripture, as matter of fact is by testimony.

We

We said that the Apostles were the highest order of Officers of the Church, that they were extraordinary, that they were distinguished from all other Officers, and that their government was not *Episcopall*, but *Apostolicall*: to which answer, your Majesty being not satisfied, doth oppose certain assertions; That Christ himself and the Apostles received their authority by Mission, their ability by Unction; that the mission of the Apostles was ordinary, and to continue to the end of the world, but the Unction whereby they were enabled to both Offices and Functions, Teaching and Governing, was indeed extraordinary; that in their Unction they were not necessarily to have Successors, but necessarily in their mission or office of teaching and governing; that in these two ordinary offices, their ordinary successors are Presbyters and Bishops; that Presbyters *qua* Presbyters do immediately succeed them in the office of teaching, and Bishops *qua* Bishops immediately in the office of governing: The demonstration of which last alone would have carried in it more conviction than all these assertions put together: Officers are distinguished by that whereby they are constituted, their commission, which being produced signed by one place of Scripture, gives surer evidence, than a Pedigree drawn forth by such a series of distinctions as do not distinguish him into another office from a Presbyter: whether this

chain

of distinctions be strong, and the links of it
sufficiently tack'd together, we crave leave to
examine, *Christ*, saith your Majesty, was the *A-*
postle and Bishop of our souls, and he made the A-
postles both Apostles and Bishops; we do not
conceive that your Majesty means that the A-
postles succeeded Christ as the chief Apostle, and
that as Bishops they succeeded Christ as a Bi-
shop, lest thereby Christ his *Mission*, as an *Apo-*
stle and Bishop, might be conceived as ordinary as
their *Mission* is said to be: But we apprehend
your Majesty to mean, that the office of Apostle
and Bishop was eminently contained in Christs
office, as the office of a Bishop was eminently
contained in that of Apostleship; but thence it wil
not follow, that *inferiour* offices being contained
in the *superiour* eminently, are therefore existent
in it *formally*; for because all *honours and digni-*
ties are eminently contained in your Majesty,
would it therefore follow that your Majesty is
formally and distinctly a Baron of the Realm, as
it is asserted, the Apostles to have been Bishops
in distinct sense? That *Mission* refers to office and
authority, and *Unction* onely to ability, we can-
not consent; for besides that the breathing of
Christ upon his Disciples, saying, *Receive ye the*
holy Ghost, doth refer to *mission* as well as *unction*;
we conceive that in the proper *anoynting* of
Kings, or other Officers, the naturall use and ef-
fect of oyl upon the body was not so much in-
tended

tended, to the solemn and extraordinary
in the inauguration of them, so that a man
to office in *unction*, as well as to confer
abilities; else how are Kings, or Priests, or Pro-
phets said to be anointed? And what good
could be made of that expression in Scripture,
anointing one in anothers room; to omit, that
Christ by this construction should be called
Messias, in respect of abilities onely? And
though we should grant your Majesties expla-
nation of *Mission* and *Uction*, yet it will not fol-
low that the *Mission* of the Apostles was ordina-
ry, and their *Uction* onely extraordinary. One
into which there is succession, was ordinary,
that into which there is no succession (for suc-
cession is not unto abilities or gifts) extraordinary;
and so the Apostles were ordinary officers in
whereunto there is properly any succession, and
that is *office*. They differed from Bishops in that
wherein one Apostle or Officer of the same or-
der might differ from another, to wit, in abili-
ties and measure of spirit; but not in that wherein
one order of Officers is above another by their
office; to which we cannot give consent: for since
no man is denominated an officer from his abili-
ties or gifts, so neither can the Apostles be
called extraordinary officers, because of extraordi-
nary gifts; but that the Apostles *mission* & *office*
(as well as their abilities) was extraordinary and
temporary, doth appear in that it was by imme-

diat

...from Christ without any in-
terposition of men, either in Election or Ordina-
tion, for planting an authoritative governing
of all Churches through the World, compre-
hending in it all other Officers of the Church
whatsoever, and therefore it seems to us very
unreasonable, that the office and authority of the
Apostles should be drawn down to an ordinary,
directly to make, as it were, a fit *stock*, into which
the ordinary office of a Bishop may be *ingrafted*;
and doth the continuance of Teaching and Go-
verning in Christ himself, render his office there-
fore Ordinary. The reason given, That the Of-
fice of Teaching and Governing was ordinary
in the Apostles, because of the continuance of
them in the Church (we crave leave to say) is
the great mistake which runs through the whole
of your Majesties discourse, for though there
be succession in the *work* of Teaching and Go-
verning, yet there is no Succession in the *Com-
mission or office*, by which the Apostles perfor-
med them; for the office of Christ, of Apostles, of
Evangelists, of Prophets, is thence also conclu-
ded Ordinary, as to Teaching and Governing,
and the distinction of Offices Extraordinary and
Ordinary *is thus* destroyed; the Succession may be
into the same *work*, not into the same *Commission
and office*; the ordinary Officers, which are to ma-
nage the work of Teaching and governing, are
constituted, settled and limited by warrant of

Scripture, as by another Commission then
which the Apostles had. And if your Majesty
had shewn us some Record out of Scripture
warranting the division of the Office of teaching
and governing into two hands, and the appro-
priation of teaching to Presbyters, of gover-
ning to Bishops, the question had been deter-
mined, otherwise we must look upon the dis-
solving of the Apostolicall Office, and distribu-
tion of it into these two hands, as the dictate of
men who have a mind, by such a precarious Ar-
gument, to challenge to themselves the *Keyes of*
Authority, and leave the *Word* to the Presby-
ters.

In our answer to the instances of *Timothy* and
Titus (which Doctor *Bishop* acknowledgeth to be
the main erection of Episcopall power, if the
proofs of their being Bishops do stand or sub-
version, if the answer that they were Evange-
lists be good) your Majesty finds very little satis-
faction, though all that is said therein could be
proved.

First, because the Scripture no where im-
plyeth any such things at all, that *Titus* was an
Evangelist, neither doth the Text clearly prove
that *Timothy* was so.

1. The name of *Bishop*, the Scripture neither
‘expressly nor by implication gives to either, the
‘work which they are enjoined to do is com-
‘mon to Apostles, Evangelists, Pastors, and
‘Teachers.

300. To that which Your Majesty secondly
saith, That we cannot make it appear by any
Text of Scripture that the Office of Evangelist
such as we have described, his work seeming,
1 Tim. 2. 4. 5. to be nothing else but diligence
in preaching the Word, notwithstanding all
impediments and oppositions We humbly an-
swer, That *exact definitions* of these or other
Church-Officers are hard to be found in any
Text of Scripture, but by comparing one place
of Scripture with another; it may be proved as
well what they were, as what the Apostles and
Presbyters were, the description by us given be-
ing a Character made up by collation of Scrip-
ture, from which Master Hooker, *Eccles. Polit.*

294 *The French Paper* *Lib. 5.* doth not much vary, saying, that *Evangelists* were *Presbyters* of principall sufficiency, whom the *Apostles* sent abroad and used as *agents* in *Ecclesiasticall Affaires*, wheresoever they sum much. And that *Pastors* and *Teachers* were settled in some certain charge, and thereby differed from *Evangelists*, whose work that it should be nothing but diligence in preaching, &c. which is common to *Apostles*, *Evangelists*, *Pastors*, and *Teachers*, and so not distinctive of this particular Office, argueth to us, that as the *Apostles* Office was divided into *Episcopall* and *Apostolicall*, so this also is to be divided in *Episcopall* and *Evangelicall*; *Ordination* and *Censures* belonging to *Timothy* as a *Bishop*, and diligence in preaching onely being left to the *Evangelists*, which division (as we humbly conceive) is warranted by the Scripture.

Thirdly, Your Majesty saith, that that which we so confidently affirm of *Timothy* and *Titus*, their acting as *Evangelists*, is by some denied and refused, yea even with scorn rejected by some rigid *Presbyterians*; and that which we so confidently deny, that they were *Bishops*, is affirmed by the consentient testimony of all Antiquity, recorded by *Jerome* himselfe that they were *Bishops* of *Saint Pauls* ordination, acknowledged by very many late *Divines*, and that a Catalogue of 27 *Bishops* of *Ephesus* continually succeeding from *Timothy*, one of good

Records is vouched by Doctor Reynolds, and other Writers.

Our confidence (as your Majesty is pleased to call it) was in our Answer exprest in these words, We cannot say that Timothy and Titus were Bishops in the sense of your Majesty, but extraordinary Officers or Evangelists, in which opinion we were then clear, not out of a totall ignorance of those Testimonies which might be alledged against it, but from intrinsick arguments out of Scripture, from which your Majesty hath not produced any one to the contrary, nor is our confidence weakned by such replies as these, the Scripture never calls them Bishops, but the Fathers do, the Scripture calls Timothy an Evangelist, some of late have refuted it, and rejected it with scorn, the Scripture relates their motions from Church to Church, but some affirm them to be fixed at Ephesus and in Crete, the Scripture makes distinction of Evangelists and Pastors, but some say that Timothy and Titus were both, we cannot give your Majesty a present account of Scultetus and Gerhards Arguments, but do believe that Mr. Gillispi and Rutherford are able with greater strength to refute that opinion of Timothy & Titus their being Bishops, then they do (if they do) with scorn reject this of their being Evangelists. As for testimonies & catalogues, though we undervalue them not, yet your Majesty will be pleased to allow us the use of our Reason

195 The second paper sheweth that the
Sofar is not to be used as Office in the Church
which is not found in Scripture upon any
gospels, or letters, and *anathema*, frequently found
in the Fathers, especially when they speak
gaily, and not as to a point in debate, for even
Jerome, who, as your Majesty saith, doth Record
that *Timothy* and *Titus* were made Bishops, and
that of *S. Pauls* Ordination, doth when he speaks
to the point between your Majesty and us, give
the Bishops to understand that they are superi-
our to Presbyters *consuetudine magis quam Do-*
minicu veritate dispositione; for *Catalogues* their
credit rests upon the first witnesses from whom
they are reported by *tradition* from hand to
hand, whose writings are many times *suppositions*,
dubious, or not *certain*; Besides that these *Cat-*
alogues do resolve themselves into some *Apostle* or
Evangelist as the first Bishop, as the *Catalogue* of
Jerusalem into the *Apostle James*, that of *Antioch*
into *Peter*, that of *Rome* into *Peter* and *Paul*, that
of *Alexandria* into *Mark*, that of *Ephesus* into
Timothy; which *Apostles* and *Evangelists* can
neither themselves be degraded by being made
Bishops, nor be succeeded in their proper calling
or office: and it is easie for us to proceed the
same way, and to find many ancient rites and
customs generally received in the Church (count-
red by the ancients *Apostolicall traditions*) as meet
the *Apostles* times as Bishops, which yet are
confessedly not of *Divine inspiration*: and fur-
ther,

292
and the rest that are first in the
Order, were Bishops with such sole power of
Ordination and Censures as is asserted, how
could they pretend Successors, who were but
Presbyterians (as the Fathers themselves
call them) to lose so much Episcopall power as
was in their predecessours, and as was not reco-
gnized in three hundred years; and therefore we
cannot upon any thing yet said, recede from that
of our Saviour, *ab initio non fuit sic*, from the be-
ginning it was not so.

Your Majesty saith, that we affirm but up-
on very weak proofs, that they were from E-
phesus and Crete removed to other places, the
contrary whereunto hath been demonstrated
by some, who have exactly out of Scripture,
compared the times, and order of the severall
journeys, and stations of Paul and Timothy.

It is confessed that our assertion, that Timothy
and Titus were Evangelists, lies with some stress
upon this, that they removed from place to place,
as they were sent by or accompanied the Apostles,
the proof whereof appears to us to be of greater
strength then can be taken off by the compari-
son which your Majesty makes of the *Druids* of
the Assembly at Westminster. We begin with the
Journals of Timothy, as we find them in order
recorded in the Scripture-places cited in the
Margin, and we set forth from Berea, *Act. 17.*
14. where we finde Timothy, then next at Athens,

298 The first Epistle of Paul the Apostle to Timothy
v. 15. from whence Paul sends him to *Thessalonica*, *1 Thes. 3. 2.* Afterward having been in *Macedonia*, he came to Paul at *Corinth*, *1 Cor. 16. 1.* and after that, he is with Paul at *Ephesus*, and thence sent by him into *Macedonia*, *Act. 19. 22.* whither S. Paul went after him, and was by *Timothy* accompanied into *Asia*, *Act. 20. 4.* who was with him at *Troas*, v. 5, 6. who was with him at *Miletus*, verse 17. to which place Saint Paul sent for the Presbyters of the Church in *Ephesus*, and gave them that solemn charge to take heed unto themselves and to all the flock over which the holy Ghost had made them Bishops, not speaking a word of recommendation of the Church to *Timothy*, or of him to the Elders. And if *Timothy* were Bishop of *Ephesus*, he must be so when the first Epistle was sent to him, in which he is pretended to receive the charge of exercising his Episcopall power in Ordination and government; but it is manifest that after this Epistle sent to him, he was in continual journeys, or absent from *Ephesus*; For Paul left him at *Ephesus* when he went from *Macedonia*, *1 Tim. 1. 3.* and he left him there to exercise his Office, in regulating and ordering that Church, and in ordaining; but it was after this time that *Timothy* is found with Paul, at *Miletus*, for after Paul had been at *Miletus*, he went to *Jerusalem*, whence he was sent prisoner at *Rome*, and never came more into *Macedonia*, and at *Rome*,
Heb.

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whom we find at Jerusalem, Gal. 2. 3. before he
came to Crete, from whence he is sent for to Nico-
polis, Tit. 2. 12. and after that he is sent to Corinth,
from whence he is expected at Troas, 2 Cor. 2. 13.
and met with Paul in Macedonia, 2 Cor. 5. 6.
whence he is sent again to Corinth, 2 Cor. 8. 6. and
after all this is near the time of Pauls death at
Rome; from whence he went not into Crete, but
unto Dalmatia, 2 Tim. 4. 10. and after this is not
heard on in the Scripture; and so we hope your
Majesty doth conceive, that we affirm not upon
very weak proofs, that Timothy and Titus were
from Ephesus and Crete removed to other pla-
ces.

In the fifth exception your Majesty takes no-
tice of two places of Scripture cited by us, to
prove that they were called away from those
places of Ephesus and Crete; which if they do not
conclude much of themselves, yet being accom-
panied by two other places which your Majesty
takes no notice of, may seem to conclude more;
and these are 1 Tim. 1. 3. Tit. 1. 5. As I besought
thee to abide still at Ephesus, for this cause lest I thee
in Crete; in both which is specified the occasio-
nall employment for which they made stay in
those places: and the expressions used, I be-
sought thee to abide still at Ephesus, I left thee in
Crete, do not sound like words of installment of a
man into a Bishoprick, but of an intendment to
call them away again; and if the first and last
be

...at Newport. 304
be put together; his ~~own~~ *intention* of them
both, the intimation of his intention, that they
should not stay there for continuance, and the
reason of his beseeching the one to stay, and of
his leaving the other behind him, which was some
present defects and distempers in those Churches;
they will put fair to prove that the Apostle
~~intended not~~ to establish them Bishops of those
places; and therefore *did not*. For the *Post-scripts*,
because your Majesty layes no great weight upon
them, we shall not be solicitous in producing evi-
dence against them, though they do bear wit-
ness in a matter of fact, which in our opinion ~~was~~
was, and in your Majesties judgement, *was*
long before they were born; and so we conclude this
discourse about *Timothy* and *Titus* with this ob-
servation, That in the same very Epistle of Paul
to *Timothy*, out of which your Majesty hath en-
deavoured to prove that he was a Bishop, and did
exercise Episcopall Government, there is clear
evidence both for Presbyters *imposing hands* in
ordination and for their *ruling*.

In the next point concerning the Angels of
the Churches, though your Majesty saith, that
you lay no weight upon the *Allegory* or *Mystery*
of the denomination; yet you assert, that the
persons bearing that name were *personae singula-
res*, and in a word *Bishops*, who yet are never so
called in Scripture; and the allegoricall denomi-
nation of Angels or Stars, which in the judge-
ment

ment of ancient and modern Writers doth be-
long to the faithfull Ministers and Preachers of
the Word in generall, is appropriate (as we may
say) to the *Mitre and Crozier-staff*, and so op-
posed to many expresse testimonies of Scripture.
And if your Majesty hath been particular in that,
wherein you say the strength of your instance
lies, *viz.* The judgement of all ancient, and of
the best modern Writers, and many probabili-
ties in the Text it self, we hope to have made it
apparent, that many ancient and eminent Wri-
ters, many probabilities of the Text it self do
give evidence to the contrary. To that which is
asserted, that these singular persons were Bishops
in distinct sense, whether we brought any thing
of moment to infirm this, we humbly submit
to your Majesties judgement, and shall onely
represent to you, that in your Reply you have
not taken notice of that which in our Answer
seemes to us of moment, which is this, That in
mysterious and prophetick writings, or visionall
representations (such as this of the Stars and
golden Candlesticks is) a number of things
or persons is usually expresse'd in *singularism*, and
this in visions is the usuall way of Representa-
tion of things; a *thousand persons* making up
one Church, is represented by one *Candlestick*;
many Ministers making up one Presbytery by
one *Angel*. And because your Majesty seems
to call upon us to be particular, though we can-
not

not name the Angels, nor are satisfied in our judgement, that those whom some do undertake to name, were intended by the name of Angels in those Epistles; yet we say, First, that these Epistles were sent unto the Churches, and that under the expression of *this thou hast*, and the like, the Churches are respectively intended, for the *sin* reprov'd, the *repentance* commanded, the *punishments* threatn'd are to be referred to the Churches, and not to the singular Angels onely; and yet we do not think that *Salmatus* did intend, nor do we, that in formall denomination the Angels and Candles *stick* are the same.

Secondly, the Angels of these Churches or Rulers were a *collective body*, which we endeavour'd to prove by such probabilities as your Majesty takes no notice of, namely the instance of the Church of *Ephesus*, where there are many Bishops, to whom the charge of that Church was by *S. Paul* at his finall departure from them committed; as also by that expression, *Revelat. 2. 24. To you, and to the rest in Thyatira*; which distinction makes it very probable, that the *Angel* is explained under that *plurality, to you*; the like to which many expressions may be found in these Epistles, which to interpret according to the consentient evidence of other Scriptures of the New Testament, is not safe onely, but solid and evidentiall.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, these Writings are directed as Episto-
lary Letters to *Collective Bodies* usually are (they
is) to *One*, but intended to the *body*, which your
Majesty illustrateth by your sending a Message
to your Two Houses, and directing it to the
Speaker of the House of Peers, which, as it doth not
hinder (we confesse) but that the *Speaker* is not
single person, so it doth not prove at all, that
the *Speaker* is alwayes the same person; or if he
were, that therefore because your Message is di-
rected to him, he is the *Gouverneur* or *Ruler* of the
two Houses in the least; and so your Majesty
hath given clear instance, that though these Let-
ters be directed to the *Angels*, et that notwith-
standing they might neither be *Bishops*, nor yet
perpetual moderators. For the severall opinions
specified in your MAJESTISS Paper, three of
them, by easie and fair accommodation (as we
declared before) are soon reduced and united to-
mongst themselves, & may be holden without ne-
cesse from the received judgement of the *Christi-
an Church*, by such as are far from meriting that
asperision which is cast upon the *Reformed Di-
vines* by Popish Writers, that they have divided
themselves from the common and received
judgement of the *Christian Church*; which im-
putation, we hope, was not in your Majesties in-
tention to lay upon us, untill it be made cleare
that it is the common and received judgement
of the *Christian Church* that now is, or of that in
for.

ages, that the Angels of the Churches
were Bishops, having Prelacy as well over Pa-
stors as people within their Churches.

In the following Discourse we will deny, that
the Apostles were to have any Successours in
their Office, and affirmed onely *two orders of*
Ordinary and Standing Officers in the Church;
viz. Presbyters and Deacons. Concerning the
former of which your MAJESTY refers to what
you had in part already declared; That in those
things, which were extraordinary in the Apo-
stles, as namely the measure of their Gifts, &c.
They had no Successours *in eundem gradu;*
but in those things which were not extraordi-
nary as the Office of Teaching and Power of Go-
vernment (which are necessary for the Service
of the Church in all Times) they were to have
and had ~~no~~ Successours: Where your Majesty
delivers a Doctrine new to us; Namely, that the
Apostles had Successours into their Offices, not
into their abilities: For besides, that Succession
is not properly into Abilities, but into Office;
We cannot say, that one succeeds another in
his Learning, or Wit, or Parts, but in his Room
and Function; we conceive, that the office A-
postolicall was extraordinary *in whole*, because
their Mission and Commission was so, and the
service or work of Teaching and Governing be-
ing to continue in all times doth not render their
Office ordinary, as the Office of Moses was not

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Thirdly, these Writings are directed as Epistolary Letters to *Collective Bodies* usually we say is to *One*, but intended to the *Body*, which your Majesty illustrateth by your sending a Message to your Two Houses, and directing it to the *Speaker of the House of Peers*, which, as it doth not hinder (we confess) but that the *Speaker* is not single person, so it doth not prove at all, that the *Speaker* is *always the same person*, or if he were, that therefore because your Message is directed to him, he is the *Governour* or *Ruler* of the two Houses in the least, and so your Majesty hath given clear instance, that though these Letters be directed to the *Angels*, yet that notwithstanding they might neither be *Bishops*, nor yet *perpetual moderators*. For the severall opinions specified in your MAJESTY'S Paper, *three* of them, by easie and fair accommodation (as we declared before) are soon reduced and united amongst themselves, & may be holden without necessity from the received judgement of the *Christian Church*, by such as are far from meriting that aspersiō which is cast upon the *Reformed Divines* by Popish Writers, that they have divided themselves from the common and received judgement of the *Christian Church*; which imputation, we hope, was not in your Majesties intention to lay upon us, untill it be made cleare that it is the common and received judgement of the *Christian Church* that now is, or of that in
for

1644, that the Angels of the Churches
were Bishops, having Preiacy as well over Pa-
stors as people within their Churches.

In the following Discourse we will deny, that
the Apostles were to have any Successours in
their Office, and affirmed onely two orders of
Ordinary and Standing Officers in the Church;
viz. *Presbyters* and *Deacons*. Concerning the
former of which your MAJESTY refers to what
you had in part already declared; That in those
things, which were extraordinary in the Apo-
stles, as namely the measure of their Gifts, &c.
They had no Successours *in eundem gradu*;
but in those things which were not extraordi-
nary as the Office of Teaching and Power of Go-
vernment (which are necessary for the Service
of the Church in all Times) they were to have
and had Successours: Where your Majesty
delivers a Doctrine new to us; Namely, that the
Apostles had Successours into their Offices, not
into their abilities: For besides, that Succession
is not properly into Abilities, but into Office;
We cannot say, that one succeeds another in
his Learning, or Wit, or Parts, but in his Room
and Function: we conceive, that the office A-
postolicall was extraordinary *in whole*, because
their Mission and Commission was so, and the
service or work of Teaching and Governing be-
ing to continue in all times doth not render their
Office ordinary, as the Office of Moses was not

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was ordinary, because many works of
government exercised by him, were referred
to the *standing Elders of Israel*: And if they have
Successors, it must be either into their whole of-
fice, or into some parts: their Successors into
the whole (however differing from them in
measure of Gifts and peculiar Qualifications)
must be called Apostles; the same Office gives
the same Denomination; and then we shall con-
fess that Bishops, if they be their Successors in
office, are of *Divine Institution*; because the A-
postolicall Office was so; if their Successors
come into part of their Office onely, the Presby-
ters may as well be called their Successors, as the
Bishops, and so indeed they are called by some
of the ancient Fathers, *Irenaeus, Origen, Hieron,*
and others; whereas in truth the Apostles have
not properly Successors into office, but the ordi-
nary power of teaching and governing (which is
settled in the Church for continuance) is institu-
ted and settled in the hands of ordinary officers by
a *new warrant* and Commission according to the
rules of Ordination and calling in the Word,
which the Bishop hath not yet produced for him-
self, and without which he cannot challenge it up-
on the generall allusive speeches used by the Fa-
thers without scruple.

And whereas your Majesty numbers the ex-
tent of their work amongst those things which
were extraordinary in the Apostles, we could wish
that

...had declared whether it belong to
Mission or Unction; for we humbly con-
ceive that their authoritative power to do their
work in all places of the world, did properly
belong to their Mission, and consequently that
their Office, as well as their Abilities, was extra-
ordinary, and so by your *Majesties own confession*
to be succeeded into by the Bishops.

As to the orders of standing Officers of the
Church, your Majesty doth reply, 'That al-
though in the places cited, *Phil. I. I. I Tim.*
there be no mention but of the *two or-
ders onely of Bishops, or Presbyters and Deacons*;
yet it is not thereby proved that there is no o-
ther standing office in the Church besides; which
we humbly conceive is justly proved, not onely
because there are no other named, but because
there is no rule of ordaining any *third*, no war-
rant or way of Mission, and so the Argument
is good as can be made, *a non causa ad non
effectum*; for we do not yet apprehend that the
Bishops pretending to the Apostolick office, do
also pretend to the same manner of Mission;
nor do we know that those very many Divines
that have asserted *two orders onely*, have conclu-
ded it from any other grounds than the Scri-
ptures cited.

There appears (as your Majesty saith) two other
manifest reasons why the office of Bishops
ought not be so proper to be mentioned in those

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places.

308 *The second Paper delivered to His Majesty*
places. And we humbly conceive there is a third
more manifest than these two, viz. because it was
not.

• The one reason given by your Majesty, is, be-
cause in the Churches which the Apostles
themselves planted, they placed Presby-
ters under them for the office of teaching,
but reserved in their own hands the power of
governing those Churches for a longer or shor-
ter time before they set Bishops over them.
Which, under your Majesties favour, is not so
much a reason why Bishops are not mentioned to be
in those places, as they indeed were not; the va-
riety of reasons (may we say, or conjectures) ren-
dered why Bishops were not set up at first, as name-
ly, because fit men could not be so soon found
out, which is *Epiphanius* his reason, or for reme-
dy of *Schisme*, which is *Ferom's* reason; or be-
cause the Apostles saw it not expedient, which is
your MAJESTIES reason; doth shew that this
cause labours under a manifest weakness: for the
Apostles reserving in their own hands the power
of governing, we grant it, they could no more
devest themselves of power of governing,
then (as Doctor *Bilson* saith) they could lose
their Apostleship: had they set up Bishops in
all Churches, they had no more parted with
their power of governing, than they did in set-
ting up the Presbyters; for we have proved
that Presbyters being called *Rulers, Governours,*
Bishops,

Bishops, had the power of governing in ordinary committed to them, as well as the office of Teaching, and that both the *Keys* (as they are called) being by our Saviour committed into one hand, were not by the Apostles divided into two: nor do we see how the Apostle could reasonably commit the government of the Church to the Presbyters of *Ephesus*, *Acts 20.* and yet reserve the power of governing (*viz.* in ordinary) in his own hands, who took his solemn leave of them, as never to see their faces more. As that part of the power of government, which for distinction sake may be called *Legislative*, and which is one of the three forementioned things challenged by the Bishops, *viz.* Giving Rules, the reserving of it in the Apostles hands hindered not; but that in your MAJESTIES judgement *Timothy* and *Titus* were Bishops of *Ephesus* and *Crete*, to whom the Apostle gives rules for ordering and governing of the Church: Nor is there any more reason that the Apostles reserving that part of the power of governing which is called executive, in such cases and upon such occasions as they thought meet, should hinder the setting up of Bishops, if they had intended it; and therefore the reserving of power in their hands can be no greater reason why they did not set up Bishops at the first, than that they never did. And since (by your Majesties confession) the Presbyters were placed by

310 *The second paper delivered to His Majesty*
the Apostles first in the Churches by them plan-
ted, and that with power of governing, as we
prove by Scripture, you must prove the *super-in-*
stitution of a Bishop over the Presbyters by the
Apostles in some after-times, or else we must
conclude that the Bishop got both his name and
power of government out of the Presbyters
hand, as the tree in the wall roots out the stones by
little and little as it self grows.

As touching *Philippi*, where your Majesty saith,
it may be probable there was yet *no Bishop*, it is
certain there were *many*, like them, who were al-
so at *Ephesus*, to whom if onely the office of Tea-
ching did belong, they had the most laborious
and honourable part, that which was less honou-
rable being reserved in the Apostles hands, and
the Churches left in the mean time without or-
dinary government.

The other reason given why two Orders one-
ly are mentioned in those places, is, because he
wrote in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus* to
them that were Bishops, so there was no need
to write any thing concerning the choice and
qualification of any other sort of Officers than
such as belonged to their ordination and inspecti-
on, which were Presbyters and Deacons onely,
and no Bishops.

The former reason why two onely Orders
are mentioned in the Epistle to the *Philippians*,
was, because *there was yet no Bishop*; this later rea-
son

For why the same two only are mentioned in these Epistles, is, because there was *no Bishop to be ordained*; we might own the reason for good, if there may be found any rule for the ordination of the other order of Bishops in some other place of Scripture; but if the *Ordination cannot be found*, how should we find the Order? and it is reasonable to think, that the Apostle in the chapter formerly alledged, *1 Tim. 3.* where he passes immediately from the Bishop to the Deacon, would have distinctly exprest, or at least hinted, what sort of Bishop he meant, whether the *Bishop over Presbyters*, or the *Presbyter-Bishop*, to have avoided the confusion of the name, and to have set as it were some mark of difference in the *Eschecheon* of the Presbyter-Bishop, if there had been some other Bishop of a *bigger house*. And whereas your Majesty saith, there was no need to write to them about a Bishop in a distinct sense, who belonged not to their ordination and inspection; we conceive, that in your Majesties judgement, Bishops might then have ordained Bishops like themselves; for there was then no *Canon* forbidding one single Bishop to ordain another of his own rank; and there being many Cities in *Crete*, *Titus* might have found it expedient (as those ancient Fathers that call him Arch-bishop think he did) to have set up Bishops in some of those Cities: so that this reason fights against the principles of those that hold *Timothy* and *Titus* to have

210 *The second Paper delivered to His Majesty*
learned Bishops: for our part we believe, that those
rules belonged not to Timothy and Titus with
strict limitation to Ephesus and Crete, but respec-
tively to all the places or Churches where they
might come, and to all that shall at any time have
the office of ordaining and governing, as it is
written in the same Chapter, 1 Tim. 3. 14, 15.
Those things I have written unto thee, &c. that thou
must know how to behave thy self in the house of God,
which is the Church, & therefore if there had been
any proper character or qualification of a Bishop
distinct from a Presbyter, if any ordination or of-
fice, we think the Apostle would have signified it,
but because he did not, we conclude (and the
more strongly from the insufficiency of your Ma-
jesties two reasons) that there are onely two or-
ders of Officers, and consequently that a Bishop is
not superiour to a Presbyter: for we find not
(as we said in our Answer) that one Officer is su-
perior to another who is of the same or-
der.

Concerning the Ages succeeding the Apostles.

‘ Your Majesty having in your first Paper said,
‘ that you could not in conscience consent to
‘ abolish Episcopall Government, because you
‘ did conceive it to be of *Apostolical institution*, pra-
‘ cised by the Apostles themselves, and by them
‘ committed and derived to particular persons as
‘ their Successors, and hath ever since, till these
‘ last

all times been exercised by Bishops in all the Churches of Christ: We thought it necessary in our Answer, to subjoyne to that we had said out of the Scriptures, the judgement of divers ancient Writers and Fathers, by whom Bishops were not acknowledged as a *Divine*, but as an *Ecclesiasticall Institution*, as that which might very much conduce both to the easing of your Majesties scruple, to consider, that howsoever Episcopall Government was generally currant, yet the superscription was not judged Divine, by some of those that either were themselves Bishops, or lived under that government; and to the vindication of the opinion which we hold, from the prejudice of *Novellisme*, or of *recesse* from the judgement of all Antiquity.

We do as firmly believe (as to matter of fact) that *Chrysostome* and *Austin* were Bishops, as that *Aristotle* was a Philosopher, *Cicero* an Orator; though we should rather call our faith and belief thereof certain in matter of fact, upon humane testimonies uncontrolled, then infallible in respect of the Testimonies themselves. But whereas your Majesty saith, 'That the darknesse of the History of the Church, in the times succeeding the Apostles, is a strong argument for Episcopacy, which notwithstanding that darknesse hath found so full proof by unquestioned Catalogues, as scarce any other matter of fact hath found the like; We humbly conceive that

those

314. *The second paper delivered to His Majesty*
those forementioned times were dark to the Catalogue-makers, who must drive the series of Succession from and through those Historically darkneses, and so make up their catalogues very much from tradition and reports, which can give no great evidence, because they agree not amongst themselves, that which is the great blemish of their evidence, is, that the neerer they come to the Apostles times (wherein they should be most of all clear to establish the Succession firm and clear at first) the more doubtful, uncertain, and indeed contradictory to one another, are the testimonies. Some say that *Clemens* was first Bishop of *Rome* after *Peter*, some say the third; and the intricacies about the order of Succession, in *Linus*, *Anacletus*, *Clemens*, and another called *Cletus* (as some affirm) are inextricable. Some say that *Titus* was Bishop of *Crete*, some say Archbishop, and some Bishop of *Dalmatia*. Some say that *Timothy* was Bishop of *Ephesus*, and some say that *John* was Bishop of *Ephesus* at the same time: some say that *Polycarpus* was first Bishop of *Smyrna*, another saith that he succeeded one *Buculus*, and another, that *Aristo* was first. Some say that *Alexandria* had but one Bishop, and other Cities two, and others, that there was but one Bishop of one City at the same time. And how should those Catalogues be unquestionable, which must be made up out of Testimonies that fight one with another?

We must confesse, that the ancient Fathers, *Terullian, Irenaeus, &c.* made use of Succession, as an Argument against *Hereticks*, or Innovators, to prove that they had the *traduces Apostolici seminis*, and that the Godly and Orthodox Fathers were on their side. But that which we now have in hand, is Succession in Office; which according to the Catalogues, resolves it self into some Apostle, or Evangelist, as the first Bishop of such a City or Place, who (as we conceive) could not be Bishops of those places, being of an higher Office; though according to the language of after-times, they might by them that drew up the Catalogues, be so called, because they *planted, and founded, or watered* those Churches to which they are entituled; and had their greatest residence in them: Or else the Catalogues are drawn from some eminent men that were of great veneration and reverence in the times and places where they lived, and Presidents or Moderators of the Presbyteries, whereof themselves were members: from whom, to pretend the succession of after-Bishops, is as if it should be said, that *Cesar* was Successor to the Roman Consuls. And we humbly conceive, that there are some Rites and Ceremonies used continually in the Church of old, which are asserted to be found in the Apostolicall and Primitive times, and yet have no colour of Divine Institution; & which is an argument above all other

216 *The second paper delivered to the Majesty*
shew, the *Fathers*; whose names we exhibited to
your Majesty in our answer, were doubtlesse ac-
quainted with the catalogues of Bishops who had
been before them, and yet did hold them to
be of *Ecclesiasticall Institution*. And lest your Majesty might reply, That how-
ever the testimonies and catalogues may vary, or
be mistaken in the order or times, or names of
those persons that succeeded the Apostles, yet all
agree, that there was a succession of some per-
sons; and so, though the credit of the Catalogues
be infirmed, yet the thing intended is confirmed
thereby: We grant, that a succession of men to
feed and govern those Churches, while they
continued Churches, cannot be denied; and that
the Apostles and Evangelists, that planted and
watered those Churches (though extraordinary
and temporary Officers) were by Ecclesiasticall
Writers, in compliance with the Language and u-
sage of their own times, called Bishops; and so
were other eminent men, of chief note, presiding
in the Presbyteries of the Cities or Churches,
called by such Writers as wrote after the divi-
sion or distinction of the names of Presbyters
& Bishops: But that those first and ancientest Pres-
byters were Bishops in proper sense, according
to your Majesties description, invested with
power over Presbyters and people, to whom (as
distinct from Presbyters) did belong the power
of Ordaining, giving Rules, and Censures, we
hum-

hardly conceive can never be proved by authentic or competent testimonies. And granting, that your Majesty should prove the Succession of Bishops from the Primitive times *scilicet*, yet if these from whom you draw, and through whom you derive it, be found either more then Bishops, as Apostles and extraordinary persons, or lesse then Bishops, as meerly first Presbyters, having not one of the three essentials to Episcopall government (mentioned by your Majesty) in their own hand; it will follow, that all your Majesty hath proved by this Succession, is the Homonymy and equivocall acceptation of the word *Episcopus*.

For *Clemens* his testimony, which your Majesty conceiveth to be made use of, as our old fallacy, from the promiscuous use of the words to infer the distinction of the things; we refer our selves to himself in his Epistle, now in all mens hands, whose testimony we think cannot be ecluded, but by the old artifice, of *hiding the Bishop under the Presbyters name*: For they that have read his whole Epistle, and have considered, that himself is called a Bishop, may doubt of *Clemens* opinion concerning his distinct Offices of Bishops and Presbyters, or rather not doubt of it, if onely his one Epistle may be impaneld upon the Inquest. Concerning *Ignatius* his Epistles, your Majesty is pleased to use some earnestnesse of expression, charging some of late, without any regard

1318 *The second Paper delivered to His Majesty*
gard of *ingenuity* or *truth* out of their partiall dis-
affection to Bishops, to have endeavoured to dis-
credit his writings. One of those cited by us, can-
not (as we conceive) be suspected of disaffection
to Bishops; and there are great arguments drawn
out of those Epistles themselves, betraying their
insincerity, adulterate mixtures, and *interpolati-*
ons; so that *Ignatius* cannot be distinctly known
in *Ignatius*. And if we take him in grosse, we
make him the *Patron* (as *Baronius* and the rest
of the Popish writers do) of such rites and obser-
vations as the Church in his time cannot be
thought to have owned. He doth indeed give te-
stimony to the *Prelacy* of a Bishop above a Pres-
byter; that which may justly render him sus-
pected, is, that he gives too much honour (saith
he) *The Bishops* as Gods high Priests, and after
them you must honour the King. He was indeed
an holy *Martyr*, and his writings have suffered
Martyrdome as well as he; *corruptions* could
not go currant but under the credit of worthy
names.

That which your Majesty saith in your fourth
Paragraph, that we might have added (if we had
pleased) That *James, Timothy, Titus, &c.* were
constituted and ordained Bishops of the fore-
mentioned places respectively, and that all the
Bishops of those times were reputed Successors
to the *Apostles* in their *Episcopall* office: We
could not have added it without prejudice (as we
hum-

humbly conceive) to the truth; for the Apostles did not ordain any of themselves Bishops, nor could they do it; for even by your Majesties concession, they were Bishops before, viz. as they were Apostles, nor could any Apostle have his choice of a certain Region or place to exercise his function in, whilst he pleased, render him a Bishop any more then Paul was Bishop of the Gentiles, Peter of the Circumcision. Neither did the Apostles ordain the Evangelists Bishops of those places unto which they sent them: Nor were the Bishops of those times any more then, as your Majesty saith, reputed Successors to the Apostles in their Episcopall Office; they came after the Apostles in the Churches by them planted, so might Presbyters do; but that is not properly succession, at least not succession into office, and this we say with a *Salvo* to our assertion, that in those times there were no such Bishops distinct from Presbyters: Neither do we understand, whether the words, *Episcopall office*, in this Section refer to the Bishops or Apostles; for in reference to Apostles, it insinuates a distinction of the Apostles office, into Apostolical and Episcopal, or that the office Apostolical was wholly Episcopal, unto neither of which we can give our consent for reasons forementioned. To the testimonies by us recited in proof of two onely Orders, Your Majesty answers first, that the promiscuous use of the names of Bishops and Pres-

320 *The second paper delivered to His Majesty*
Presbyters, is imported, That which your Ma-
jesty not long ago called *our last fallacy*, is now
your answer onely with this difference: We under
promiscuous names hold the same Office; your
Majesty under promiscuous names supposes two,
wh if as it is often asserted, was but once proved,
we should take it for a determination of this con-
troversie. Secondly, that they relate to a * School-
* point, or a nicety, *Utrum Episcopatus sit ordo*
vel gradus, both sides of the questionists or
* disputants in the meane time *acknowledging* the
* right of Church-government in the Bishops a-
lone; It is confest by us, that that question as
it is stated by Popish Authors, is a *curious nicety*,
to which we have no eye or reference; for though
the same Officers may differ from and excell o-
thers of the same Order in gifts or qualifications,
yet the Office it self is one and the same, with-
out difference or degrees, as one Apostle or Pres-
byter is not superiour to another in degree of
Office; they that are of the same order are of
the same degree, in respect of Office, as having
power and authority to the same Acts. Nor doth
the Scripture warrant or allow, any superiority of
one over another of the same Order; and there-
fore the proving of two Orders onely in the
Church, is a demonstration, that Presbyters and
Bishops are the same. In which point the Scri-
pture will counter-balance the testimonies of
those that assert three degrees or orders, though

ten for one. But for easing of your Majesty of the trouble of producing testimonies against those cited by us, We make this humble motion, that the Regiments on both sides may be discharged out of the field, and the point disputed by Divine holy Scripture; *id verum quod primum*.

Having passed through the argumentative parts of your Majesties Reply, wherein we should account it a great happinesse to have given your Majesty any satisfaction, in order whereunto you pleased to honour us with this imployment, We shall contract our selves in the remainder, craving your Majesties pardon, if you shall conceive us to have been too much in the former, and too little in that which followes. We honour the pious intentions and munificence of your Royall Progenitors, and do acknowledge that ornamentall accessions granted to the person, do not make any substantiall change in the Office; the reall difference between that Episcopall Government which first obtained in the Church, and the present Hierarchie, consists in *ipso regimine & modo regiminis*, which cannot be clearly demonstrated in particulars, untill it be agreed on both sides, what that Episcopacy was then, and what the Hierarchie is now, and then it would appear, whether these three fore-mentioned essentials of Episcopall Government, were the same in both: For the power under Christian Princes, and under Pagan, is one and the same, though the exercise

325 *The second paper delivered to his Majesty*
ercise be not, And we humbly receive your Ma-
jesties pious advertisement, (not unlike that of
Constantines) stirring us up as men unbiassed
with private interests, to study the nearest ac-
commodation and best resemblance to the Apo-
stolicall and primitive times. But for your Ma-
jesties *Salvo* to the Bishops sole power of Ordi-
nation and Jurisdiction, and that distinction of
Ordination, authoritative in the Bishop, and the
Concomitant in the Presbytery; which you seem
to found upon these two Texts, *1 Tim. 1.6. 1*
Tim. 4. 14. and which is used by Dr. *Bilson*, and
other defenders of Episcopacy, in explication of
that Canon of the fourth *Council of Carthage*,
which enjoyns the joynt imposition of the Bi-
shops and Presbyters hands; We shall give your
Majesty an account, when we shall be called to
the disquisition thereof; Albeit that we do not
for the present see, but that this *proviso* of your
Majesty renders our accommodation to the A-
postolicall and Primitive times (whereunto You
did exhort us) unfeisable. We notwithstanding
do fully professe our acknowledgement of *subor-*
dination of the outward exercise of Jurisdiction,
to the Sovereign power, and our accomptable-
nesse to the Laws of the Land. As for your Ma-
jesties *three questions* of great importance, Whe-
ther there be a certain form of government left
by Christ or his Apostles to be observed by all
Christian Churches; Whether it bind perpetu-
ally,

may, or be upon occasion alterable in whole or in part; whether that certain form of government be the Episcopall, Presbyterian, or some other, differing from them both: the whole volume of Ecclesiasticall Polity is contained in them; and we hope that neither your Majesty expected of us a particular answer to them at this time, nor will take offence at us, if we hold onely to that which is the question, in order to the Bill of *Abolition*; for we humbly profess our readiness to serve your Majesty, answering these or any other questions within our proper *cognizance*, according to the proportion of our mean abilities.

For your Majesties condescention, in vouchsafing us the liberty and honour of examining your learned Reply, clothed in such excellency of style; and for your exceeding candour, shewed to such men as we are; and for the acceptance of our humble duty, we render to your Majesty most humble thanks, and shall pray, that such a pen in the hand of such abilities, may ever be employed in a subject worthy of it.

That your Majesty would please to consider, that in this point under debate, *Succession* is not the best *claw*, and most certain and ready way to find out the *Originall*; for to go that way, is to go the furthest way about, yea, to go *backward*; and when you are at the *spring*; viz. the *Scripture* it self, you goe to the *rivers end*, that you may seek the *spring*.

And that the Lord would guide your Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament, by the right hand of his Counsell, and shew you a happy way of healing our unhappy differences, and of settling the Common-wealth of Jesus Christ, which is the Church, so as all the members thereof may be under you in all godlinesse, peace and honesty.

His MAJESTIES finall Answer concerning Episcopacy, Novemb. 1. 1648.

WHat you have offered by way of Reply to His Majesties second Paper of *Octob. 6.* in yours of *Octob. 17.* in order to the further satisfaction of his conscience in the point of Episcopacy, His Majesty heard, when it was publicly read by you, with diligent attention, and hath since (so far as his leisure would permit) taken the same into his private and serious consideration; wherein his Majesty not only acknowledgeth your great pains and endeavours to inform his judgement, according to such persuasions as your selves have in the matter in debate; but also taketh speciall notice of the civility of your applications to him both in the body and conclusion of your Reply: yet he cannot but observe withall, that in very many things you either mistake his meaning and purpose in that paper, or at least come not up fully enough there-

I would this Reply, Which to have shewn, will sufficiently remonstrate your present Reply to be unsatisfactory in that behalf, without making a particular answer to every passage in it, which to a paper of that length would require more time than his Majesty can think fit (amidst the present weighty affairs) to allow unto a debate of this nature, especially since his Majesty hath often found mutuall returns of long answers and replies, to have rather multiplied disputes by starting new questions, then informed the conscience by removing former scruples.

1. Reply, §. 1. 2. As to the Scriptures cited in the margin of His Majesties first Paper. It being granted by you, that those Scriptures did prove the Apostles, and others being single persons to have exercised respectively the severall points in the paper specified, which powers (by your own confessions in this Reply §. 7.) a single person, who is but a meer Presbyter, hath no right to exercise: and it being withall evident, that a Bishop in the Ecclesiasticall sense, and as distinct from a Presbyter, layeth claim to no more than to a peculiar right in the exercise of some, or all of the said powers; which a meere Presbyter hath not; the conclusion seemeth natural and evident, that such a power of Church-government as we usually call Episcopall, is sufficiently proved by those Scriptures.

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2. Reply. Sect. 2.5. As to the Bishops challenge. First, when you speak of a Writ of Partition, you seem to take his Majesties words, as if he had shared and canton'd out the Episcopall Office, one part to the Bishops alone, another to the Presbyters alone; and you fall upon the same again afterwards (Sect. 6.) whereas his Majesties meaning was, and by his words appeareth so to have been, that one part of the office (*that of teaching, &c.*) was common to both alike; but the other part (*that of governing Churches*) to the Bishop alone.

2ly. You infer from his Majesties words, *That the Bishops challenge appears to be grown to more then was formerly pretended to. Which inference his Majesties words by you truly cited, if rightly understood, will not bear.* For having proved from Scripture the power of Church-government, in all the three mentioned particulars to have been exercised by the Apostles and others, his Majesty said but this onely, *That the Bishops challenge no more or other power to belong unto them, in respect of their Episcopall Office, then what properly falleth under one of these three.* The words are true; for he that believeth the challenge not so much, might safely say they challenge no more. But the inference is not good; for he that saith they challenge no more, doth not necessarily imply they challenge all that. In the power

of Ordination, which is purely spirituall, his Majesty conceiveth the Bishops challenge to have been much what the same in all times of the Church; and therefore it is that the matter of Ordination is most insisted on, as the most constant and most evident difference between Bishops and Presbyters, especially after the times of *Constantine*, which his Majesty by your relating to *Chrysost.* and *Hierom* taketh to be the same with the times of *Grown Episcopacy*. But his Majesty seeth no necessity, that the Bishops challenge to the power of jurisdiction should be at all times as large as the exercise thereof appeareth at some times to have been; the exercise thereof being variable according to the various condition of the Church in different times. And therefore his Majesty doth not believe that the Bishops under Christian Princes doe challenge such an amplitude of jurisdiction to belong unto them in respect of their Episcopall Office precisely, as was exercised in the Primitive times by Bishops before the dayes of *Constantine*. The reason of the difference being evident, that in those former times under Pagan Princes the Church was a distinct Body of it self, divided from the Common-wealth, and so was to be governed by its own rules and Rulers. The Bishops therefore of those times, though they had no outward coercive power over mens persons

or estates, yet inasmuch as every Christian man when he became a Member of the Church, did *ipso facto*, and by that his own voluntary act put himself under their government, they exercised a very large power of Jurisdiction in *spiritualibus*, in making Ecclesiasticall Canons, receiving accusations, convening the accused, examining of witnesses, judging of crimes, excluding such as they found guilty of scandalous offences from the Lords Supper, enjoining penances upon them, casting them out of the Church, receiving them again upon their repentance, &c. And all this they exercised as well over Presbyters as others: but after that the Church under Christian Princes began to be incorporated into the Common-wealth, whereupon there must of necessity follow a complication of the Civill and Ecclesiasticall powers, the jurisdiction of Bishops (in the outward exercise of it) was subordinate unto, and limitable by the Supreme Civill power, and hath been, and is at this day, so acknowledged by the Bishops of this Realm.

Thirdly, you seem to affirm in a parenthesis, as if nothing were confessed to have been extraordinary in the Apostles but their gift and enablements onely; whereas his Majesty in that Paper hath in expresse words named as extraordinaries also, the extent of their charge, and the infallibility of their Doctrine, without any mean-
ing

ing to exclude those not named, as their immediate calling, and if there be any other of like reason.

Fourthly, for the claim to a *jus divinum*, his Majesty was willing to decline both the term (as being by reason of the different acceptation of it subject to mis-construction) and the dispute whether by Christ or his Apostles: Nevertheless although his Majesty sees no cause to dislike their opinion, who derive the Episcopall power originally from Christ himself, without whose warrant the Apostles would not either have exercised it themselves, or derived it to others; yet for that the practise in them is so clear and evident, and the warrant from him expressed but in generall terms (*As my Father sent me, so send I you*, and the like) His Majesty chose rather (as others have done) to fix the claim of the power upon that practise, as the more evidentiall way, than upon the warrant, which by reason of the generality of expression would bear more dispute.

3. Reply. Sect. 6. *As to the definition of Episcopacy.* First, whereas you except against it, for that it is competent to Archiepiscopall and Patriarchall Government as well as Episcopall; His Majesty thinketh you might have excepted more justly against it if it had been otherwise.

Secondly, His Majesty believeth, that even in the persons by you named (*Timothy, Titus, and the Angels*) the definition in all the parts of it is to be found, *viz.* that they had each their severall peculiar charges, and that within their severall precincts they had authority over Presbyters as well as others.

Neither thirdly, doth his Majesty think it needfull, that any word be added to the *Genus* in the definition, or that the Scripture should any where put all the parts of the definition together, it would be a hard matter to give such a definition of an Apostle, or a Prophet, or an Evangelist, or a Presbyter, or a Deacon, or indeed almost of any thing, as that the parts thereof should be found in any place of Scripture put altogether.

Fourthly, his Majesty consenteth with you, that the point in issue is not in the name or work merely, but the office; and that it were a fallacy to argue a particular office from a generall or common work; but judgeth withall it can be no fallacy to argue a particular office, from such a work as is peculiar to that office, and is as it were the *formalis ratio* thereof; and therefore no fallacy from a work done by a single person, which a single Presbyter hath no right to do, to infer an office in that person distinct from the office of a Presbyter.

4. Reply, Sect. 7. As to the Scriptures cited by you, viz. Tit. 1. Act. 20. 2 Pet. 5. First, when you say you take his Majesties Concession, That in those times of the Church and places of Scripture, there was no distinct Office of Bishops and Presbyters; If you take it so, truly you take it *gratis*, (His Majesty never gave it you :) and you mistake it too, more waies then one, for to speak properly, His Majesty made no Concession at all. It was rather a Preterition in Order to the present business, and to avoid unnecessary disputes, which ought not to be interpreted as an acknowledgement of the truth of your Expositions of those places. For his own expresse words are, 'Al- though his Majesty be not sure that the proof 'will reach so far in each of those places : which words plainly evidence, that which you call his Majesties Concession to be indeed no con- cession ; but to have been meant according to that form of speech very usua!l in Disputations, *Dato, non concessio*. But in that Concession, such as it is, his Majesty is not able to imagine what you could find whereon to ground those words, ' That in those times of the Church there was ' no distinct, &c. there being not any thing in the whole passage that carrieth the least sound that way, or that hath relation to any particular times of the Church. Neither is the Concession such as you take it, as it relateth to those places of Scri-
pture.

puted. When his Majesty said is, confessed on all sides (which are the words you take for a Concession) was but this, That supposing (but not granting) the word Bishop to be used in all those places to signifie a Presbyter, the Office and Work in those places mentioned as the Office and Work of a Bishop are (upon that supposall) the Office and Work of a Presbyter; which is so manifest a truth, that no man without admitting contradictions can say the contrary. But how wide or short that is from what you make to be his Majesties Concession, your selves by comparing his words with yours may easily judge. But your selves a little after make a concession, which his Majesty (warned by your Example how soon anothers meaning may be mistaken when his words are altered) is willing to take in the same words you give it, viz. when you say, and you bring reasons also to prove it, That it seemeth manifest, that Ordination and Censures are not to be exercised by a single Presbyter.

2. You repeat your Arguments formerly drawn from those places, and presse the same from the force of the words *non aliter* and *etiam*, and from the circumstances of the Text; and otherwise adding withall, that his Majesty hath waved the notice or answer of something by you alledged therein. Hereunto his Majesty

saith,

said, that he waded not any thing in your former paper; for any great difficulty he conceived of answering it: but being desirous to contract his answer, and knowing to what frailties, Arguments drawn from Names and Words, and conjecturall Expositions of Scripture are subject, he passed by such things as he deemed to be of least consideration in order to the end of the whole debate; to wit the satisfaction of his judgement and conscience in the main businesse. Otherwise his Majesty could have then told you, That there are, who by the like conjectures, grounded (as seems to them) on some *probabilities* in the *text*, interpret those places in the *Acts* and in *S. Peter* of Bishops properly so called; and in the restrained Ecclesiasticall sense, rather than of ordinary Presbyters; That supposing them both meant of ordinary Presbyters, the words *ποιμαίνοντες & ἐκτρέφοντες* (which signifie to feed and to oversee) might not unfitly be applied to them as inferiour Pastors, in relation to their flocks under their charge and oversight (the Flock being in both the places expressly mentioned) which hindereth not; but the same words may in a more peculiar manner be appropriated to Bishops in respect of that authority and oversight they have over Presbyters themselves also; That still granting your own interpretation of the word Bishop in that place to *Titus*, it can prove no more

more then that the two names in that place are given to the same Function. That from all the premises in your paper there layed together and supposed true, his Majesty doth not conceive it justly proved, That the Office of a Bishop and Presbyter is wholly the same, but at the most, that the Offices were not in those places distinguished by those names.

Thirdly, if the assignment of any particular Qualification, work or duty, unto a Bishop, distinct from a Presbyter, by the Scripture, would (as you say) put this question neer to an issue; his Majesty should well have hoped, that it might soon be brought to a near point, and that from the evidence of the Epistles onely of Saint Paul to Timothy; wherein as he particularly expresseth the qualification, work, and duty of Presbyters and Deacons; that Timothy might know what persons were fit to be ordained unto those Offices. So in the directions given to Timothy throughout those Epistles, he sufficiently describeth the qualification, work, and duty of a Bishop, that Timothy might know how to behave himself in the exercise of his Episcopall Office, as well in ordaining as in governing the Church.

As to the signification of the word *Episcopus*, the primary signification thereof, and the application of it to Church Officers, you acknowledge:
and

and that the same was after by Ecclesiasticall usage appropriated to Bishops you deny not. But the distinction of *Episcopus gregis*, & *Episcopus pastorem*, you do not allow. If you disallow it for the unfitnessse of the word, as may seem by that passage, where you say, 'That his Majesty hath said, that *Episcopus* signifieth a Keeper of Shepherds; His Majesty thinketh you might very well have spared that exception. For if there be a person that hath the oversight of many Shepherds under him, there is no more impropriety in giving such a person the style of *Episcopus pastorem*, then there is in using the word *regulus*, or in calling *Dauid* the Master of *Sauls* Herdmen. And for the thing it self, it cannot be denied, but that the Apostles, and *Timothy* and *Titus* (by what claim, ordinary, or extraordinary, as to the present businesse it matters not) had the oversight and authority over many Pastors, and were therefore truly and really *Episcopi pastorem*.

The appropriation of the names of *Episcopus* and *Presbyter* to these distinct Offices, considering that it was done so early, & received so universally in the Church, as by the writings of *Clemens*, *Ignatius*, the Canons commonly called of the Apostles, and other ancient evidences doth appear, His Majesty hath great reason to believe that it was done by consent of the primitive Bp^s meere-ly in
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honour of the Apostles, out of their respect and reverence to whole persons, and personall prerogatives, they chose to call themselves Bishops, rather than Apostles in common usage, although they made no scruple to maintain their succession from the Apostles, when they spake of things proper to the Episcopall Function, not to use upon occasion the terms of Apostle and Apostolicall in that sense, the truth of all which is to be seen frequently in the writings of the Ancients.

The testimonies of so many writers, ancient and modern, as have been produced for the Scripture-originnall of Bishops, his Majesty conceiveth to be of so great importance in a question of this nature, that he thinketh himself bound both in charity and reason to believe, that so many men of such quality would not have asserted the same with so much confidence but upon very good ground. The men respectively of high estimation and reverend authority in the Church, worthily renowned for their learning and piety, of moderate and even passions, of Orthodox belief, sundry of them uninteressed in the quarrell, and some of them of later times by interest and education byassed rather the other way; Their assertions positive, peremptory; and full of assurances (*constat & nemo ignorat*, it is clear, none can be ignorant, and other such like expressions)

namely, that Christ constituted Bishops in the Apostles: That it was founded upon a divine Law: That Episcopacy is *id est* 95. The Ordinance of God: That it seemeth good to the Holy Ghost so to order it, &c. Inasmuch as they counted *Aetium* an Heretick for holding the contrary. And this their judgement they delivered as led thereunto by divine evidence of Scripture (*id est* 96. *id est* 97. Gods word teacheth it; *aperis Scriptura testimonis*, it appeareth by plain testimonies of Scripture; *discimus ex hoc loco*, From this place we learn, and the like) which testimonies should they be encountered (as his Majesty doth not yet believe they can be) with a cloud of witnesses to the contrary, for number, and in every other respect equall thereunto; yet should not the authority of their evidence in reason be much lessened thereby: inasmuch as one witness for the affirmative ought to be of more value then ten for the negative, and the testimony of one person that is not interested, then of an hundred that are.

And whereas you seem in this question to decline this kind of trial, because matter of right is properly triable by Scripture; his Majesty conceiveth this present question, in what terms soever proposed, to be yet in the true stating of it, and in the last resolution, clearly a question of fact and not of right; For what right soever
the

the Bishops have or pretend to have, must be derived from the fact of *Christ* or his *Apostles*. Which matter of fact, if it be not in the most plain *historicall* manner that may be related in the Scriptures, but is to be deduced thence by topical remote inferences, and probability of conjectures, the most rationall and proper expedient for the finding out of the right, is to have recourse to the Judgement, but especially to the practise of the nearest and subsequent times; according to the received Maximes, *Lex currit cum Praxi, & consuetudo optimus interpret Legum*. Now he that shall find by all the best Records extant, that the distinction of Bishops from and the superiority over Presbyters was so universally and speedily spread over the face of the whole World, and their government submitted unto so unanimously by the Presbyters, that there never was any considerable opposition made there-against before *Aerius* (and that cryed down as an *Heresie*) nor since till this last Age: and shall duly consider withall, that if *Episcopall* government had not had an indubitable institution from the authority of *Christ* and his *Apostles*, or if any other form of Church-government could have pretended to such institution, had been the most impossible thing in the world; when there neither was any outward certain power to enforce it, nor could be any generall Councell to establish it, to have introduced

And such a form of government so suddenly and quietly, into all *Christian Churches*, and not the spirit of any one *Presbyter* for ought that appeareth for above 300 years, to have been provoked either through zeal, ambition, or other motive, to stand up in the just defence of their own and the Churches liberty against such an *usurpation*. His Majesty believeth that whosoever shall consider the *premises*, together with the Scripture evidences that are brought for that *Government*, will see reason enough to conclude the same to have *something of divine institution* in it, notwithstanding all the evasions and objections that the subtil wit of man can devise to perswade the contrary. And therefore his Majesty thinketh fit, plainly to tell you, that such Conjectural Interpretations of Scripture, as he hath yet met with in this Argument, how handsomely soever set off, are not Engines of strength enough to remove him from that judgement wherein he hath been settled from his Childhood, and findeth so consonant to the judgement of Antiquity, and to the constant practise of the Christian Church for so many hundred years; which in a matter of this nature ought to weigh more then meer conjecturall Inferences from Scripture-Texts that are not so attested. Which having now once told you, his Majesty thinketh himself discharged from the necessity of making so large and particular an answer to every allegation

340 *His Majesties third Paper delivered*
tion in the sequel of your Reply, as hitherto he
hath done.

6. *Reply, Sect. 9.* As to the Apostles Mission
and Succession. To make his answer the shorter
to so long a discourse, His Majesty declareth, that
his meaning was not by distinguishing the Mission
and Unction of the Apostles, so to confine them,
as if they should relate precisely and exclusively,
the one to the office, the other to the abilities,
but that they did more especially and eminently
so relate: For the Apostles after their last Mis-
sion, (*Mat. 28. 19, 20.*) whereby they were fur-
ther warranted to their Office and Work, were
yet to wait for that promised anointing (*Luke*
24. 49. Act. 1. 4.) the special effect whereof was
the enduing them with Gifts of the Holy Ghost,
for the better and more effectually performing of
that their work and Office. Nor was it his Ma-
jesties meaning to restrain the extraordinaries in
the Apostolicall Office to those gifts onely: (for
his Majesty afterwards in the same paper men-
tioneth other extraordinaries also, as before is
said) but onely to instance in those gifts, as one
sort of extraordinaries, wherein the Apostles
were to have no Successors. But his Majesties
full meaning was, that the whole Apostolicall
Office (setting aside all and onely what was per-
sonall and extraordinary in them) consisted in
the work of teaching and governing, which be-
ing both of necessary and perpetuall use in the

Church to the worlds end, the Office thereof was also to continue, and consequently the persons of the Apostles being mortall, to be transmitted and derived to others in succession: And that the Ordinary successors of the Apostles immediately, and into the whole Office, both of Teaching and Governing, are properly the Bishops, the Presbyters succeeding them also, but in part, and into the Office of Teaching onely, and that mediately and subordinately to the Bishops, by whom they are to be ordained, and authorized thereunto, which his Majesty taketh not to be, as you call it, a dissolving of the Apostolicall Office.

Now the ground of what his Majesty hath said concerning the manner of Succession to the Apostles, that it may appear not to have been said *gratis*, is this, The things which the Scriptures record to have been done by Christ, or his Apostles, or by others at their appointment, are of three sorts, some acts of power meerly extraordinary, others acts of an ordinary power, but of necessary and perpetuall use; othersome lastly, and those not a few, Occasionall and Prudentiall, fitted to the present condition of the Church in severall times: To the Apostles in matters of the first sort none pretends succession, nor are either the Examples of what the Apostles themselves did, or the directions that they gave to others what they should do in matters of

the third sort, to be drawn into consequence so far as to be made necessary Rules, binding all succeeding Church-officers in all times to perpetuall observation. So that there remain the things of the middle sort onely, which we may call Substantials, into which the Apostles are to have ordinary and standing successors. But then the difference will be, By what certain marks, Extraordinaries, Substantialls and Prudentials may be known, and distinguished each from other. Evident it is, the Scriptures do not afford any particular discriminating Characters whereby to discern them, the acts of all the three sorts being related in the like narrative forms, and the directions of all the three sorts expressed in the like preceptive forms. Recourse therefore must of necessity be had to those two more general Criterions [the Laws of all humane actions] Reason and Common Usage. Our own reason will tell us, that instructing the people of God in the Christian Faith, exhorting them to Piety, and good Works, administering the Sacraments, &c. which belong to the Office of teaching: That ordaining of Ministers, Inspection over their lives, and Doctrines, and other Administrations of Ecclesiasticall affaires belonging to the Office of Governing, are matters of great importance and necessary concernment to the Churches in all Ages and Times: and therefore were to be concredited to standing Officers in a line of

Succession, and accordingly were judged, and the continuance of them preserved in the constant usage of the Churches of Christ: But that on the other side the decrees concerning Abstinence from blood, and strangled, *Acts* the 15. The directions given for the ordering some things in the Church-Assemblies, *1 Cor.* 14. For making provisions for the poor, *1 Cor.* 16. 1. For the choice and maintenance of Widows, *1 Tim.* 5. For the enoyling of the sick, *James* 5. 14. and other like, were but occasional, prudential, and temporary, and were so esteemed by the Churches, and the practise of them accordingly laid aside. So for the succession into the Apostolical Office, we find in the Scriptures evidence clear enough, that the Apostles committed to others, as namely to *Timothy* and *Titus*, the power both of teaching and governing the Churches. And common Reason, and Prudence dictating to us, that it is good for the edifying of the Church, that there should be many Teachers within a competent precinct, but not so that there should be many Governours. And the difference of Bishops and Presbyters to the purposes aforesaid, having been by continual usage received, and preserved in the Christian Church, down from the Apostles to the present times; his Majesty conceiveth the succession of Bishops to the Apostles, into so much of their Office as was ordinary and perpetual; and such a distinction

344 *His Majesties third Paper Delivered*
of Bishops and Presbyters as his Majesty hath
formerly expressed, needeth no further confir-
mation from Scripture (to such as are willing to
make use of their Reason also, which in interpre-
ting Scripture upon all other occasions they are
enforced to do) nor any thing by you produced
in this Paragraph, any further answer, onely that
distinction of Eminently and Formally, because
you illustrate it by instancing in Himself, his Ma-
jesty could not but take notice of, which he ei-
ther understandeth not, or thinketh your illu-
stration thereof not to be very apposite: For Ac-
tions and Operations flow from the Forms of
things, and demonstrate the same as effects do
their causes. The Apostles therefore acting in the
ordinary exercise of Church-Government, did
act not Eminently onely, but Formally also, as
Bishops rather then Apostles.

As concerning Timothy and Titus.

7. *Reply. Sect. 10. 15.* First, whether they
were Evangelists or no, his Majesty never meant
to dispute. Onely, because you often call for
Scripture-proof, his Majesty thought fit to ad-
monish you, that in your Answer you take two
things for granted (*viz.* that *Timothy* and *Titus*
were Evangelists, and that Evangelists were such
Officers as you described) Neither of which if it
should be denied, you could clearly prove from
Scripture alone, without calling in the help of o-
ther writers to attest it, as in your Reply you
have

have now done Mr *Hooker*; Neither have you indeed brought any thing in this Reply out of Scripture to prove either of both sufficient to convince him that were of a contrary mind.

Secondly, you seem (Sect. 11.) to mistake that which was the third point in that part of his Majesties paper, which was not whether *Timothy* and *Titus* were Evangelists, or no; (concerning which his Majesty neither did, nor doth contend) But whether in the Church-government they exercised, they acted as Evangelists (as you affirm) and so onely as extraordinary Officers, or not? *Zwinglius* (having said that the name of a Bishop and Evangelist is the same thing) proveth it from 2 *Tim. 4.* and concludeth, *Constat idem fuisse officium utriusq;* Bishop and Evangelist the same Office both. *Gerrard* saith, the word Evangelist in that place is taken generally, and not in the speciall sense; that is to say, for a Minister of the Gospel at large (and the Context there indeed seemeth to import to more) and not for an Evangelist by peculiar Office. And *Sculletus* not onely affirmeth, That *S. Paul* appointed *Timothy* & *Titus* to *Ephesus* and *Crete*, not as Evangelists, but as Church-governours; but saith further, That the Epistles written to them both do evince it, and also bringeth reasons to prove it. Upon what particular reasons *Gillespy*, &c. reject the conceit of their acting as Evangelists, his Maj. certainly knows not: But if this be one of their

Arguments (as to their best remembrance from whom his Majesty had the information, it is) That if whatsoever is alledged from the Scripture to have been done by the Apostles, and by Timothy and Titus, in point of Ordination, Discipline and Government, may be eluded by this, that they acted therein as extraordinary Officers, There will be no proof at all from Scriptures of any power left in any ordinary Church-Officer to the purposes aforesaid. His Majesty then recommendeth to your most sober thoughts to consider, First, how this conceit of their acting as extraordinary Ministers onely, tends to the subversion of all Ministers, as well as of the Bishops (since upon this very ground especially the Socinians deny all Mission and Ordination of the Ministers in the Church.) And secondly, if the contrary be proved by Gillespy, &c. by good Arguments, that they acted as ordinary Officers in the Church, then, Whether they have not thereby laid a better foundation for the claim of Bishops, (*viz.* of governing the Churches as single persons in ordinary Office) than either they or you are willing to acknowledge.

Thirdly, his Majesty thinketh it a great liberty which you take in rendring the sense of his Reply, as you have done, *viz.* 'The Scriptures never call them Bishops, but the Fathers do: where-as if you had followed his sense in that Paper, you might rather have delivered thus, The Scripture describeth

describeth them as Bishops, and the Fathers call them so. For that of yours, *'The Scripture calls Timothy an Evangelist; some of late have refuted it, and rejected it with scorn: You should have said rather, The Scripture doth not any where affirm of Titus, nor clearly prove of Timothy, that they were (by peculiar office) Evangelists; but that in governing the Churches they acted as Evangelists, or extraordinary Officers, is by sundry late Writers (the Evasion it self having been but of late minted) refuted, and rejected. For that of yours, 'The Scripture relates their motion from Church to Church, but some affirm them to be fixed at Ephesus and in Crete: It should have been, Neither doth their motion from Church to Church hinder, but that they might afterwards be fixed at Ephesus and in Crete: Neither doth their being Bishops at Ephesus and Crete hinder, but they might afterwards, for propagation of the Gospel, be by the Apostles appointment often imployed other where. For that of yours, 'The Scripture makes distinction of Evangelists and Pastors, but some say that Timothy and Titus were both: It should have been, The Scripture maketh no such distinction of Evangelists and Pastors, but that the same persons might not onely successively be both, but even at the same time also be called by both names.*

4ly. Though you say, *You do not undervalue the*

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Testimonies & Catalogues mentioned, yet you endeavor (which cometh not far short of undervaluing) to lessen the reputation of both but too much: Of those Testimonies, by putting them off, as if when they report *Timothy* & *Titus* & others to have bin Bishops, they speak but vulgarly, or by way of allusion, and not exactly as to the point in Debate. But of *Hierome*, upon whom you chiefly relye in this Cause, the contrary is evident, who in this Catalogue of Ecclesiasticall Writers, wherein he was to deliver things *Fide Historica*, and to describe the persons of such as are Registred in that Catalogue by their proper and known distinctive Titles and Styles, he expressly styleth *Timothy*, *Titus*, *Mark*, *Polycarp*, and others, Bishops of such and such places; and such on the other side as were but meer Presbyters, *Ecclesia Antiochena*, or *Alexandrina Presbyter*, &c. observing the difference so constantly and exactly throughout the whole Book, that nothing can be more clear, than that he understood the word *Episcopus* no otherwise than in the ordinary Ecclesiastical sense, and as a Bishop is distinct from a Presbyter. As for that passage you alledge out of him, by custom in the judgement of learned men, he must mean the practise of the Apostolick times; and by *Dominica dispositio*, the expresse precept of Christ, unless you will have him contradict what himself hath written in sundry other places; Whose Testimonies in the behalf of Episcopal

Superiority, are so clear and frequent in his Writings, that (although he of all the Ancients be least suspected to favour that Function over-much) yet the Bishops would not refuse to make him *Arbitrator* in the whole Business. As for the Catalogues, there will be more convenient place to speak of them afterwards.

Fifthly, your long Discourse concerning the several stations and removes of *Timothy & Titus*, (13. 14.) and their being called away from *Ephesus* and *Crete* (15.) His Majesty neither hath time to examine, nor thinketh it much needful (in respect of what he hath said already) so to do. It is sufficient to make his Majesty at least suspend his assent to your conjectures and inferences: First, that he findeth other learned men, from the like conjectures to have made other inferences; as namely, that *Timothy* and *Titus* having accompanied *Paul* in many journeys, *Postea & tandem*, were by him constituted Bishops of *Ephesus* and *Crete*. Secondly, that supposing they were, after the times of the several Epistles written to them, sent by the Apostles to other places, or did accompany them in some of their journeys, even for a long time together, it cannot be concluded thence, that they were not then Bishops of those Churches, or that the Government of those Churches was not committed to their peculiar charge: If it be supposed withall (which is most reasonable) that their absence was commanded
by

by the Apostle, and that they left their Churches *cum animo revertendi*. Thirdly, that the places which you press again of *1 Tim. 1. 3.* and *Tit. 1. 5.* weigh so little to the purpose intended by you, even in your own judgements (for you say onely, *They put fair to prove it*) that you cannot expect they should weigh so much in his, as to need any further Answer; save onely, That his Majesty knows not what great need or use there should be of leaving *Timothy* at *Ephesus*, or *Titus* in *Crete*, for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, with such particular directions and admonitions to them for their care therein, if they were not sent thither as Bishops: For either there were Colledges of Presbyters in those places before their coming thither, or there were not; if there were, and that such Colledges had power to ordain Presbyters and Deacons without a Bishop; then was there little need of sending *Timothy* and *Titus* so solemnly thither about the work; if there were none, then had *Timothy* and *Titus* power of sole ordination, which is a thing by you very much disliked. Those inconveniences his Majesty thinketh it will be hard wholly to avoid upon your principles.

That Discourse you conclude with this Observation, *That in the same very Epistle to Timothy, out of which he is endeavoured to be proved a Bishop, there is clear evidence both for Presbyters imposing hands in Ordination, and for their Ruling:*

Yet

Yet his Majesty presumeth you cannot be ignorant, that the evidence is not so clear in either particular, but that in the former very many of the Latine Fathers especially, and sundry later Writers, as *Calvin* and others, refer the word *πρεσβυτερις*, to the remoter Substantive, Grace or Gift, and not to that of Imposition of hands; and so understand it as meant of the Office of Presbytery, or as we were wont to call it in English, by derivation from that Greek word of *Priesthood* in *Timothy* himself, and not of a Colledge or Company of Presbyters collectively imposing hands on him: And that the Greek Fathers, who take the word collectively, do yet understand by *πρεσβυτεριον* there, a company of Apostles or Bishops who laid hands on *Timothy* in his Ordination to the Office of a Bishop (as was ordinarily done by three joyning in that Act in the Primitive and succeeding times) and not of a Colledge of meer Presbyters. And that in the latter particular, to wit, that of *Ruling*, The place whereon his Majesty conceiveth your Observation to be grounded, hath been by the Adversaries of Episcopal Government generally and mainly insisted upon, as the onely clear proof for the establishing of *Ruling Lay-Elders*; which Interpretation his Majesty knoweth not how far you will admit of.

As to the Angels of the Churches.

Reply: **H**is Majesties purpose of naming these
 16. 17. Angels in his first Paper, sufficiently
 declared in his second, required no more to be
 granted for the proving of what he intended, but
 these two things onely: first, that they were *per-*
sonae singulares; and then that they had a superio-

rity in their respective Churches, as well over
 Presbyters as others: which two being the *Peri-*
phrasis or definition of a Bishop, his Majesty con-

ceived it would follow of it self, That they were
 Bishops; that the Epistles directed to them in
 their respective Reproofs, Precepts, Threatnings,
 and other the contents thereof, did concern
 their fellow-Presbyters also, and indeed the whole
 Churches (which in your last you again remem-

ber) his Majesty did then and doth still believe,
 finding it agreeable both to the tenor of the Epi-

stles themselves, and to the consentient judge-

ment of Interpreters. Onely his Majesty said,
 and all doth, That that hindereth not, but that
 the Angels to whom the Epistles were directed,
 were *personae singulares* still: This his Majesty il-

lustrated by a Similitude, which though it do not
 hold in some other respects, and namely those by
 you observed (for his Majesty never dreamt of a
 four-footed Similitude) yet it perfectly illustrates
 the thing it was then intended for, as is evident e-

nough; so that there needeth no more to be said
 about it.

That

That which you insist upon to prove the contrary from *Rev. 2. 24.* *But I say to you* (*vñv* plurally) *and to the rest in Thyatira*, is plainly of no force, if those Copies in which the copulative conjunction is wanting, be true; for then the reading would be this, *But I say to you the rest in Thyatira*. But following the ordinary Copies, the difficulty is not great; such manner of Apostrophes by changing the number, or turning the speech to another person, being very usual both in prophetick Writings, such as this Book of *Revelation* is, and in Epistles of this nature written to one, but with reference to many others therein concerned. *Beza* expoundeth it, *vñv*, *to you* (that is, the Angel as President, and his Collegues the other Presbyters) *and to the rest*, that is, to the whole flock or people; which manner of speaking might be illustrated by the like forms of speech to be used in a Letter written to a Corporation, wherein the Major and Aldermen especially, but yet the whole Town generally were concerned, but directed to the Major alone; or from a Lord, containing some Orders for his own household especially, and generally for the whole Township, but by the Inscription directed to his Steward onely, or the like.

The consent of ancient and later Writers was produced by his Majesty for the proof of the two things before named onely, but especially of the first, *viz.* That the Angels were *persona singula-*

res;

For the latter, viz. That they were single persons, had been confessed by your selves in your first grant before) but was not produced to prove the conclusion it fell immediately, viz. That they were Bishops in distinct sense, although sundry of their Testimonies come up even to that also. But to the first point, That they were single persons, the concurrence is so general, that his Majesty remembreth not to have heard of any one single Interpreter, before *Brightman*, that ever expounded them otherwise. And yet the same man (as his Majesty is informed) in his whole Commentary upon the *Translation*, doth scarce, if at all, any where else, save in these Seven Epistles, expound the word *Angel* collectively, but still of one single person or rather; inso much as he maketh one *Angel* to be *Gregory the Great*, another *Queen Elizabeth*, another *Cranmer*, another *Chomutinus*, and the like; but generally both the Fathers and Protestant Divines agree in this, That the *Angel* was a single person, some affirming plainly, and that *terminis*, he was the Bishop, some naming the very persons of some of them, as of *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*, and others, some calling him the chief Pastor or Superintendent of that Church, and those that speak least, and were more or less disaffected to Bishops, as *Baker*, *Dr. Reynolds*, the *Geneva Note*, and even *Cartwright* himself, the *apostle*, President or chief among the Presbyters.

And

And thus they do sundry of them, not crudely declaring their opinions onely, and then no more, but they give reasons for it, and after examination of the severall opinions, prefer this before the rest, affirming, That *Doctissimi quique interpretantur*, all the best learned interpreters so understand it, and that they cannot understand it otherwise, *Nisi nisi facere Textui velint*, unlesse they will offer violence to the Text.

That which his Majesty said concerning the Subdivision of those that had divided themselves from the common judgement of this Church, was meant by his Majesty, as to the Subdivision in respect of this particular of the Angels wherein they differ one from another, and not as to the division in respect of their dislike of Bishops, wherein they all agree: and truly his Majesty doth not yet see how either their differences can be possibly reconciled in the former (no accommodation in the world being able to make all the people of the whole Church, or yet a Colledge consisting of many Presbyters, to be one single person) or their recess wholly excused in the latter, their dissenting from the common and received judgement, practise of the Christian Church, in the matter of Episcopacy, and the evil consequences thereof, having in his Majesties opinion, brought a greater reproch upon the Protestant Religion, and given more advantage (or

colour at least) to the Romish party, into asperse
the Reformed Churches in such sort as we see
they doe, then their disagreement from the
Church of Rome in any one controverted point
whatsoever besides hath done.

As to the Apostles Successors;
9. Repl. **H**ere little is said, the substance where-
17, 18. of hath not been answered before;
His Maj. therefore briefly declares his meaning
herein, that the Apostles were to have no neces-
sary Successors in any thing that was extraordi-
nary, either in their Mission or Unction, that his Maj.
spake not of succession into abilities otherwise
than by instance, mentioning other particulars
withall, which thing he thinketh needeth not to
have been now the third time by you mentioned;
that in the Apostles Mission or Commission (for
his Maj. under the name of Mission comprehend-
eth both) and consequently in the Apostolicall
office, as there was something extraordinary, so
there was something ordinary, wherein they were
to have Successors; that Bishops are properly
their Successors in the whole Apostolicall office,
so far as it was ordinary, and to have Successors;
that therefore the Bishops office may in regard
of that succession be said to be Apostolicall; that
yet it doth not follow that they must needs be
called Apostles, taking the denomination from
the office, in as much as the denomination of the
Apostles, peculiarly so called, was not given
them

from the office whereunto they were sent, (as the word it self rather importeth) from the immediateness of their mission, being sent immediately by Christ himself, in respect whereof, for distinction sake, and in honour to their persons, it was thought fitter by those that succeeded in common usage, to abstain from that denomination, and to be styled rather by the name of Bishops; that if the Apostles had no Successors, the Presbyters (who are their Successors in part, immediately and subordinately to the Bishops) will be very hard set to prove the want of their own Office and Mission; which is not derived from the Apostles (who onely received power of mission from Christ) by a continued line of Succession, his Majesty seeth not upon what other bottom it can stand.

As to the standing Officers of the Church.
YOU insisted upon two places of Scripture, *Phil. 1. 1.* & *1 Tim. 3.* to prove that there were to be no more standing Officers in the Church; then the two in those places mentioned (*viz.*) Presbyters (who are there called Bishops) and Deacons; whereunto his Majesties answer was, *That there might be other, though not mentioned in those places;* which answer, though it were alone sufficient, yet *ex abundanti*, his Majesty shewed withall, that supposing your interpretation of the word *Bishop* in both the places (*viz.* to denote the office of Presbyters onely)

there might yet be given some probable conjectures, which (likewise supposed true) might satisfy us, why that of Bishop in the distinct sense should not be needfull or proper, to be named in those places.

His Majesties former reason, though in *Thesis*, and as applied to the Church of *Philipp*, it be but conjecturall, yet upon the credit of all Ecclesiasticall Histories, and consideration of the condition of those times, as it is set forth in the Scriptures also, it will appear in *Thesis* to be undoubtedly true (*viz.*) That the Apostles themselves first planted Churches, that they were perpetuall Governours, and in chief of all the Churches whilst they lived, that as the Church grew greater by the propagation of the Gospel, they assumed others in *pariter cura*, committing to their charge the peculiar oversight of the Churches in some principal Cities and the Towns and Villages adjacent, as *James* at *Jerusalem*, and others in other places sooner or later, as they saw it expedient for the service of the Church, that the persons so by them appointed to such peculiar charges, did exercise the powers of Ordination and other government under the Apostles, and are therefore in the Church-stories called Bishops of those places in distinct sense, that in some places where the Apostles were themselves more frequently conversant, they did for some while govern the Churches immediately by them-

before they set Bishops there, and
 after the Apostles times Bishops onely were
 the ordinary Governours of the Churches of
 Christ. And his Majesty believeth it cannot be
 proved either from clear evidence of Scripture,
 or credible testimonies of Antiquity, that ever any
 Presbyter or Presbytery exercised the power ei-
 ther of Ordination at all without a B., or of that
 which they call Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in ordi-
 nary, & by their own sole authority, or otherwise,
 then as it was delegated unto them upon occasi-
 on, and for the time by Apostles and Bishops.
 For that place of *Phil. 1. 1.* in particular, his
 Majesties purpose being not to interpret the
 place (a work fitter for Divines) but to manifest
 the consequence of the Argument, whereby you
 would conclude but two standing Officers onely,
 because but two there named, gave this as one
 probable conjecture why there might be no Bi-
 shops in distinct sense there mentioned, because
 possibly the Apostles had not as yet set any
 Bishops over that Church, which his Majesty
 did not propose as the onely, no, nor yet as the
 most probable conjecture (for which cause he de-
 livered it so cautiously, saying onely, it might be
 probable) but as that which for the present came
 first into his thoughts, and was sufficient for
 his purpose, without the least meaning thereby to
 prejudice other interpretations; as namely,
 of those expositors who take the words (with the

106 Bishop and Deacons) as belonging to the persons calling, and not to the persons called: to this sense *Paul* and *Timothy* the servants of *Iesus Christ*, with the Bishops and Deacons to the Saints at *Philippi*, &c. or of those who affirm, and that with great probability too, that *Ephraim* was then actually Bishop of *Philippi*, but not to be mentioned in the Inscription of the Epistle, because he was not then at *Philippi*, but with *S. Paul* at *Rome* when that Epistle was written: any of which conjectures, if they be true (as there is none of them utterly improbable) that place of *Phil. i. i.* will not do you much service in this question.

In the *Epistles* to *Timothy* and *Titus*, the Apostle directeth and admonisheth them as Bishops, particularly concerning ordination of Ministers, that they do it advisedly, and ordain none but such as are meetly qualified for the service of the Church; which directions and admonitions his Majesty believeth for the substance to belong to all Bishops of after-times as well as unto them: But his Majesty seeth no necessity why in those Epistles there should be any particular directions given concerning the ordination of Bishops, at least unless it could be made appear, that they were to ordain some such in those places; nor perhaps if that could be made to appear, in as much as in those Epistles there is not the least signification of any difference at all between

Presbyters and Deacons in the manner of their ordination, both being to be performed by the Bishop, and by imposition of hands, and to both comprehended under that generall rule (*hands suddenly on no man*) but onely, and that very little, and scarce considerable (as to the making of distinct offices) in the qualification of their persons.

The ordination therefore of Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, being to be performed in the same manner, and the same qualifications after a sort, saving such differences as the importance of their severall offices make (which is more in the degree than in the things) being required in both, it had been sufficient if in those Epistles there had been direction given concerning the ordination and qualification of but one sort of Church-officers onely; as in the Epistle to *Titus* we see there are of Presbyters onely, and no mention made of Deacons in the whole Epistle: whence it may be as well concluded, that there was to be no other standing officers in the Church of *Crete* but Presbyters onely, because *S. Paul* giveth no directions to *Titus* concerning any other, as it can be concluded, that there were to be no other officers in the Church of *Ephesus*, but Presbyters and Deacons onely, because *S. Paul* giveth no directions to *Timothy* concerning any other.

[Bb4]

As

as the same, *James, John, Alexander, Epiphanius, &c.*
 which all men believe there were Kings in those
 Countries, and Consuls in Rome in those times,
 (as you might well foresee would be answered)
 the discrepating of the Catalogues of Bishops, in
 respect of some uncertainties (although his Ma-
 jesty doubteth not but many of the differences
 you instance in may be fairly reconciled)
 tendeth rather to the confirming of the thing it
 self, to this notwithstanding, the institution of
 that which you say in answer herunto, that
 the Ecclesiastical Writers called them Bishops,
 in compliance to the language of their own
 times, since the names of Presbyters and Bishops
 were distinguished, but that they were not in-
 deed Bishops in the proper sense now in que-
 stion: his Majesty, who believeth the distin-
 ction of those names to have begun presently
 after the Apostles time (if not rather whilst
 some of them were living) doth consequently
 believe, that as they were called, so they were in-
 deed Bishops in that proper sense. It appea-
 reth by *Ignatius* his Epistles every where, how
 wide the difference was in his time between a
 Bishop and a meer Presbyter: if *Hierome* one-
 ly find some a little ancients than he had ap-
 plied the name Bishop to persons that lived some
 ages before them, there might have been the
 more colour to have attributed it to such a com-
 pliance as you speak of; but that they received
 both

244 *His Highnes the Duke of Beaufort*
both the name and the truth of their relations
from unquestionable Testimonies and Records,
his Majesty thinketh it may be made good by
many instances; For example, to instance in one
onely, *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*, who is
thought to be the Angel of that Church in the
Revelation; *Ignatius*, who was contemporary
with him, wrote one Epistle to him, and sends
salutation to him in another as Bishop of *Smyrna*,
many years after *Irenaeus* Bishop of *Lyon* in
France (whose writings were never yet called in
question by any) not onely affirms him to have
been constituted Bishop of *Smyrna* by the
Apostles, but saith, *That he himself when he
was a boy had seen him a very old Man*; *Tertullian*
next, a very ancient Writer, affirmeth; *That he
was Bishop of Smyrna, there placed by Saint
John*. After cometh *Eusebius*, who in his Ec-
clesiasticall History, not onely historically repor-
teth of his being Bishop there, as he doth of o-
ther Bishops, but citeth also for it the testimo-
nies both of *Ignatius* and *Irenaeus* (which by the
way giveth good credit to *Ignatius* his Epistles
too) then *Hierom* also and others, lastly, attest
the same. And it cannot be doubted, but *Euse-
bius* and *Hierom* had in their times the like cer-
tain testimonies and grounds for sundry others,
whom they report to have been Bishops, which
Testimonies and Records are not all come to our
hands.

For

107

144 *The History of the Church of England*
such particular Cities. Although his Majesty
knoweth not, but that they might without pre-
judice to their Apostleship, and by mutual con-
sent, make choice of their several quarters wher-
in to exercise that Function, as well as Saint Peter
and Saint Paul by consent went, the one to the
Circumcision, the other to the Gentiles. But
such appoyntments did not entitle them to be
properly called Bishops of those places, unless
any of them by such Argument did fixedly reside
in some City, of which there is not in the History
of the Church any clear unquestionable ex-
ample. If James the Lords Brother (who was
certainly Bishop of Jerusalem) were not one of
the Twelve Apostles, as the more general Opin-
ion is that he was not, yet did the Churches in
succeeding times, for the greater honour of their
Ages, and the memory of so great Benefactors
enter the head of the Lists or Catalogues of their
Bishops, the Names of such of the Apostles as
had either first planted the Faith, or placed Bi-
shops, or made any long abode and continuance,
or ended their daies among them: yet doth not
the true Title of being Successors to the Apo-
stles thereby accrew to the Bishops of those pla-
ces, more then to other Bishops, but all Bishops
are equally Successors to the Apostles in two
other respects; The one, for that they derive
their Ordination by a continual Line of Successi-
on from the Apostles: The other, for that they
suc-

into the same Apostolical power of Paul
 which the Apostles as ordinary Pastors had
 Your motion to reduce this whole dispute to
 Scripture alone, were the more reasonable, if the
 matter in question were properly a point of
 Faith. And yet even in points of Faith (as the
 Doctrine of the Trinity, the Canon of Scrip-
 ture, and sundry other) the uniform judgement
 of the Church hath been ever held of very con-
 siderable regard: but bring a matter of Fact, as be-
 fore was said, which the Scriptures do not deliver
 entirely and perspicuously in any one place toge-
 ther, but obscurely, and by parts, so that the un-
 derstanding thereof dependeth merely upon con-
 jectural Interpretations & uncertain probabilities,
 nor assure any certain distinguishing Characters,
 whereby to discern what therein is extraordinary,
 what prudential, & what of necessary & perpetual
 obligation, there seemeth to his Maj. to be a ne-
 cessity of admitting the subsequent judgement &
 practice of the Christian Churches into the Trial
and the three Questions proposed by his Majesty
 100 Reply. **H**is Majesty resteth very incho-
 101 second. **H**is Majesty is satisfied, That you have now al-
 102 gulf wholly declined the answering of those
 three Questions so clearly proposed by him,
 which your selves also confesse to be of great im-
 portance, upon this only pretence, *That the whole*
volume of Ecclesiastical Policy is contained in them.
 Whereas his Maj. did neither expect nor require
 from

306 His Majesties Answer
from you any large or Potentia^l Discourse con-
cerning those Questions; but yet did conceiue you
were (in order to his satisfaction and your own un-
dertaking) in some sort obliged to have declared
in few words what your judgement was therein,
with the grounds thereof; that so his Majesty
might have taken the same into his further con-
sideration, then which nothing could have more
conduced to the informing of his judgement,
and the satisfaction of his Conscience; which his
Majesty also further conceives you might have
done, with the tenth part of that pains you have
hitherto bestowed to other purpose; and therein
have given full as much satisfaction to his desires,
as he expected, and in all likelihood better satis-
faction to his judgement then he yet findeth, or
can hope to find from you, so long as you hold off
from declaring your opinions concerning those
Questions: For certainly, until one of these three
things can be clearly evidenced unto his Majesty,
(viz.) Either that there is no certain forme of
Church-Government at all prescribed in the
Word; or if there be, that the Civil power may
change the same as they see cause; or if it be un-
changeable, that it was not Episcopal but some
other, his Majesty thinks himself excusable in
the judgement of all reasonable men, if he cannot
as yet be induced to give his consent to the
abolition of that Government in the Church,
which he found here settled to his hands; which

hath

continued all over the Christian World, from the times of the Apostles, until this last Age, and in this Realm ever since the first plantation of Christianity, as well since the Reformation before, which hath been confirmed by so many Acts of Parliament, approved as consonant to the holy Word of God, in the Articles of our Religion, and by all the Ministers of the Church of England, as well by their personal subscription, as otherwise, so attested and declared, and which himself in his judgement and conscience, hath for these many years been, and yet is persuaded to be at least of Apostolical Institution and practise: Truly, his Majesty cannot but wonder what should be the reason of your great dullness and unwillingness to discover your minds in a matter of so great and necessary consequence: and for a final conclusion of this whole dispute (which his Majesty thinketh fit to shut up with this paper) he must plainly tell you, That your endeavours to have given him satisfaction in the Questions proposed, would have added much in his opinion to the reputation of their ingenuity in the whole undertaking, it being not probable you should work much upon his judgement, whilst you are fearful to declare your own, nor possible to relieve his Conscience, but by a free declaring of yours.

Nevertheless, his Majesty liketh well of your prayer in the close of your paper, and thinketh you

370 *His Majesties third Paper delivered*

you should do very well to joyn therewith your utmost possible endeavours towards the settling of Truth, and an happy peace in this unseetled Church and Kingdom.

His MAJESTIES Quære concerning Easter, propounded to the Parliaments Commissioners at Holmby, April 23. 1647.

I desire to be resolved of this Question; Why the new Reformers discharge the keeping of Easter.

The Reason for this Quære is:

I Conceive the Celebration of this Feast was instituted by the same authority, which changed the Jewish Sabbath into the Lords Day or Sunday, for it will not be found in Scripture where Saturday is discharged to be kept, or turned into the Sunday; wherefore it must be the Churches authority that changed the one and instituted the other: Therefore My opinion is, that those who will not keep this Feast, may as well return to the observation of Saturday, and refuse the weekly Sunday. When any body can shew Me, That herein I am in an error, I shall not be ashamed to confesse and amend it; till when you know my mind.



C. Rex.

His

*His MAJESTIES Letter to the PRINCE,
Newport Novemb. 29. 1648.*

Son,

BY what hath been said, you may see how long We have laboured in the search of Peace. Doe not you be discourag'd to tread those wayes, in all worthy means to restore your self to your right; but prefer the way of Peace: shew the greatnesse of your mind, rather to conquer your enemies by pardoning than by punishing. If you saw how unmanly and unchristianly this implacable disposition is in our ill-willers, you would avoid that spirit. Censure us not, for having parted with too much of Our own right: the price was great, the commodity was security to Us, Peace to Our People. And We are confident another Parliament would remember how usefull a Kings power is to a Peoples liberty. Of how much We have divested Our self, that We and They might meet again in a due Parliamtary way, to agree the bounds for Prince and People. And in this give belief to Our experience, never to affect more greatnesse or Prerogative, than what is really and intrinsically for the good of your Subjects, (not satisfaction of favourites.) And if you thus use it, you will never want means to be a Father to all, and a bountifull Prince to any you would be extraordinarily gracious unto. You may perceive all men trust their treasure where it returns them interest: And if Princes, like the Sea, receive and repay all the fresh streams and rivers trust them with; they will not grudge, but pride themselves, to make them up an Ocean. These considerations may

[C c]

make

make you a great Prince, as your Father is now a low one; and your state may be so much the more established, as mine hath been shaken. For Subjects have learnt (We dare say) that Victories over their Princes are but triumphs over themselves, and so will be more unwilling to hearken to changes hereafter. The English Nation are a sober people, however at present under some infatuation. We know not but this may be the last time We may speak to you or the world publicly; We are sensible into what hand We are fallen, and yet we bless God We have those inward refreshments, that the malice of Our Enemies cannot perturb, We have learnt to own Our self, by retreating into Our self, and therefore can the better digest what befalls Us, not doubting but God can restrain our Enemies malice, and turn their fierceness unto his praise. To conclude, if God give you success, use it humbly and far from revenge: If he restore you to your right upon hard conditions, whatever you promise, keep. Those men which have forced Lawes which they were bound to observe, will find their triumphs full of troubles. Do not think any thing in this World worth obtaining by foul and unjust means. You are the Son of Our love: and as We direct you to what we have recommended to you, so we assure you, We do not more affectionately pray for you (to whom We are a natural Parent) then We do, that the ancient glory & renown of this Nation, be not buried in irreligion and fanatick humour: And that all our Subjects (to whom we are a Politick Parent) may have such sober thoughts as to seek their Peace, in the Orthodox Profession of the Christian Religion, as it was established since the Reformation in this Kingdome, and not in new Revelations: And that the ancient Lawes, with the interpretation according to the known practises, may

may once again be an hedge about them, that you may in due time govern, and they be governed, as in the fear of the Lord.

C. R.

THe Commissioners are gone, the Corn is now in the Ground, We expect the Harvest, if the Fruit be Peace. We hope the God of Peace will in time reduce all to truth and order again. Which that he may do, is the prayer of

C. R.

P R A Y E R S

Used by His Majesty in the time of His
S U F F E R I N G S.

Delivered to Dr. *Fuxon* Bishop of LONDON,
immediately before His Death,

Also a Letter from the PRINCE,

A PRAYER in time of Captivity.

O Powerfull and Eternall GOD! to whom nothing is so great, that it may resist, or so small, that it is contemned; look upon my Misery with thine eye of Mercy, and let thy infinite Power vouchsafe to limit
out

but some proportion of deliverance unto me, as shall
 shall seem most convenient ; let not injury, O Lord
 triumph over me, & let my faults by thy hand be cor-
 red, and make not my unjust enemies the Ministers of
 thy Justice : But yet, my God, if in Thy wisdom this be
 the aptest chastisement for my unexcusable transgressi-
 ons ; If this ungratefull bondage be fittest for my over-
 high desires, if the pride of My (not enough humble)
 heart be thus to be broken, O Lord I yield unto Thy
 will, and cheerfully embrace what sorrow thou wilt have
 Me suffer : Onely thus much let me crave of Thee (Let
 my craving, O Lord, be accepted of, since it even pro-
 ceeds from thee) that by thy goodness, which is thy self,
 Thou wilt suffer some beam of thy Majesty so to
 shine in My mind, that I, who acknowledge it my
 noblest Title to be thy Creature, may still in my great-
 est Afflictions depend confidently on thee. Let Cala-
 mity be the exercise, but not the overthrow of my Ver-
 tue : O let not their prevailing power be to my destru-
 ction. And if it be thy will, that they more and more vex
 me with punishment ; yet, O Lord, never let their wic-
 kedness have such a hand, but that I may still carry a
 pure mind and stedfast resolution ever to serve thee,
 without fear or presumption, yet with that humble con-
 fidence which may best please thee ; so that at the last I
 may come to thy eternall Kingdome, through the me-
 rits of thy Son, our alone Saviour, Jesus Christ. Amen,

A Prayer in time of Captivity.



Additional

Additional Prayers used by His
Majesty in the time of his Suf-
ferings and Restraint.

*Prayer used by His Majesty, at his entrance in
state into the Cathedrall Church of Exeter, after
he had defeated the Earl of Essex his Forces in
Cornwal.*



Most glorious Lord God, Father,
Son, and holy Ghost, I here hum-
bly adore Thy most Sacred Ma-
jesty; and I blesse and magnifie
thy Name; for that thou hast
been pleased so often and so
strangely to deliver me from the strivings of My
people. Father, forgive them who have thus risen
up against Me, and doe Thou yet turn their
hearts both unto Thee and to Me, that I being
firmly established in the Throne Thou hast pla-
ced Me in, I may defend Thy Church commit-
ted to My care, and keep all this Thine and My
people in Truth and Peace through Jesus Christ
our Lord. Amen.

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2.

A Prayer drawn by His Majesties special direction & desires, for a blessing on the Treaty at Uxbridge.

O Most mercifull Father, Lord God of Peace and Truth, we a people sorely afflicted by the scourge of an unnaturall War, do here earnestly beseech Thee to command a blessing from Heaven upon this present Treaty, begun for the establishment of an happy Peace. Soften the most obdurate hearts with a true Christian desire of saving those mens blood for whom Christ himself hath shed his. Or if the guilt of our great sins cause this Treaty to break off in vain, Lord let the Truth clearly appear, who those men are, which under the pretence of the publick good, do pursue their own private ends; that this people may be no longer so blindly miserable, as not to see, at least in this their day, the things that belong unto their peace. Grant this gracious God, for his sake who is our peace itself, even Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

3.

A Prayer drawn by his Majesties speciall directions, for a blessing on the Treaty at New-port in the Isle of Wight.

O Most mercifull Father, Lord God of Peace and Truth, we a people sorely afflicted by the

His Majesties Prayers.

If

the scourge of an unnatural War, do here earnestly beseech thee to command a blessing from Heaven upon this Treaty brought about by thy providence, and the onely visible remedy left for the Establishment of an happy Peace. Soften the most obdurate hearts, with a true Christian desire of saving those mens blood for whom Christ himself hath shed his. O Lord let not the guilt of our sin cause this Treaty to break off, but let the truth of thy Spirit so clearly shine in our mindes, that all private ends laid aside, we may every one of us heartily and sincerely pursue the publick good, and that thy people may be no longer so blindly miserable, as not to see, at least in this their day, the things that belong unto their peace. Grant this gracious God, for his sake who is our peace it self, even Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

4.

A Prayer for pardon of sin, &c.

A Almighty and most mercifull Father, look down upon Me Thy unworthy servant, who here prostrate My Self at the Foot-stool of thy Throne of Grace; But look upon me, O Father, through the Meditation, and in the Merits of Jesus Christ, in whom Thou art onely well-pleased; For, of My self I am not worthy to stand before Thee, or to speak with My unclean lips to Thee, O most holy and eternall God! For as in sin I was

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conceived and born, so likewise I have broken all thy Commandements by My sinfull motions, unclean thoughts, evil words, and wicked works, omitting many duties I ought to do, and committing many vices which Thou hast forbidden under pain of thy heavy displeasure. As for My sins, O Lord, they are innumerable; wherefore I stand here liable to all the miseries in this life, and everlasting torments in that to come, if thou shouldest deal with Me according to My deserts. I confesse, O Lord, that it is Thy mercy (which endureth for ever) and Thy compassion (which never fails) which is the cause that I have not been long ago consumed: But with Thee there is mercy and plenteous redemption; in the multitude therefore of Thy Mercies, and by the Merits of Jesus Christ, I intreat Thy Divine Majesty, that Thou wouldst not enter into judgement with Thy Servant, nor be extreme to mark what is done amisse, but be Thou mercifull unto Me, and wash away all My sins with that precious blood that My Saviour shed for Me. And I beseech Thee, O Lord, not onely to wash away all My sins, but also to purge My heart by Thy holy Spirit, from the dross of My naturall corruption. And as thou doest add daies to My life, so good Lord, I beseech Thee to add repentance to My daies, that when I have past this mortall life, I may be partaker of Thy everlasting Kingdom, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

His Majesty's Prayer. 13
A Prayer and Confession in and for the times of affliction.

ALmighty and most mercifull Father, as it is
onely Thy goodnesse that admits of our im-
perfect prayers, and the knowledge that Thy mer-
cies are infinite, which can give Us any hope of
Thy accepting or granting them; so it is our boun-
den and necessary duty to confesse our sins freely
unto Thee: and of all men living I have most need,
most reason so to do, no man having been so much
obliged by Thee, no man more grievously offend-
ing Thee: That degree of knowledg which Thou
hast given Me, adding likewise to the guilt of My
transgressions. For was it through ignorance, that I
suffered innocent blood to be shed by a false pre-
tended way of Justice? Or that I permitted a
wrong way of Thy worship to be set up in *Scot-*
land, and injured the Bishops in *England*? O no;
but with shame and grief I confesse, that I therein
followed the perswasions of worldly wisdom, for-
saking the Dictates of a right-informed Consci-
ence. Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuse to
make, no hope left, but in the multitude of Thy
Mercies, for I know My repentance weak, and
My prayers faulty: Grant therefore, mercifull
Father, so to strengthen My repentance, and a-
mend My prayers, that Thou mayest clear the
way for Thine own Mercies; to which, O let

Thy justice at last give place, putting a speedy end to My deserved afflictions. In the mean time give me patience to endure, Constancy against Temptations, and a discerning spirit to chuse what is best for Thy Church and people which Thou hast committed to My charge. Grant this, O most mercifull Father, for Thy Son Jesus Christ's sake, our onely Saviour, Amen.

A Prayer in time of imminent Danger.

O Most mercifull father, though My sins are so many and grievous, that I may rather expect the effects of Thy anger, than so great a deliverance as to free Me from My present great danger; yet, O Lord, since Thy Mercies are over all Thy works, and Thou never failest to relieve all those who with humble and unfained repentance come to Thee for succour, it were to multiply not diminish My transgressions, to despair of thy heavenly favour: wherefore I humbly desire thy Divine Majesty, that thou wilt not onely pardon all My sins, but also free Me out of the hands, and protect Me from the malice of My cruell enemies. But if thy wrath against My heinous offences, will not other waies be satisfied, than by suffering Me to fall under My present afflictions, thy will be done; yet, with humble importunity I do, and shall never leave to implore the assistance of thy heavenly Spirit, that My
cause,

use, as I am thy Vicegerent, may not suffer through My weaknesse or want of courage. O Lord, so strengthen and enlighten all the faculties of My Mind, that with cleernesse I may shew forth Thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloody Triall; that so My sufferings here may not onely glorifie Thee, but likewise be a furtherance to My salvation hereafter. Grant this, O mercifull Father, for his sake who suffered for Me, even Jesus Christ the Righteous. Amen.

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I am thy / Obedient, may not suffer
My weakness or want of courage
I ord to strengthen and enlighten all the faculties
of my Mind, that with cleanness I may thereby
The Truth, and naturally endure this
My Trials: that is My suffering here may
not only glorify Thee, but likewise be a further
means to my salvation hereafter. Grant this, O
merciful Father, for his sake who suffered for
us. Amen.

*Upon the picture of his Majesty, sitting in his Chair
before the High Court of Injustice.*

Not so Majestick in thy Chair of State!
On that but Men, here God & Angels wait:
Expecting whether hopes of Life, or fear
Of Death can move thee from thy Kingly speare
Constant & fixt, whom no black storms can soyle,
Thy Colours, Head, and Soul, are all in oyle,



THE TRYALL
OF
CHARLES the I.
KING of ENGLAND,
In the Great Hall at *Westm.*
Jan. 20, 1648.

THE TRYALL
OF
CHARLES the 1.
King of England,
in the Great Hall at Westminster.
Jan. 30. 1648.

Three Queries propounded by his Majesty, when
the Army's Remonstrance was read unto him at
Newport, concerning the intended triall of His
Majesty.



Hether this Remonstrance be a-
greeable to the former Declara-
tions of the Army? and if not,
whether the Parliament would
make good their Votes, that af-
ter he had consented to what they desired, he
should be in a capacity of Honour, Freedome, and
Safety.

2. Whether his acknowledgement of the blood
that hath been spilt in the late Wars (nothing
being as yet absolutely concluded or binding)
could be urged so far as to be made use of by way
of evidence against him, or any of his Party.

3. Whether the Arguments that he hath used
in a free and personall Treaty, to lessen or exte-
nate, and avoid the exactnesse of any of the
Conditions, though in manner and form onely,
might be charged against him as an act of Obsur-
bacy, or wilfull persistence in what is alledged a-
gainst him, in that he goes on in a destructive
course of enmity against the people and the Laws
of the Land, when he hath declared, that his
conscience was satisfied concerning divers parti-
culars in the Propositions.

4. Whe-

4. Whereas by the Letter of the Law all persons charged to offend against the law, ought to be tried by their Peers or equals, what the Law is if the person questioned is without a Peer; and if the Law (which of it self is but a dead Letter) seems to condemn him, by what power shall judgement be given, and who shall give it? or from whence shall the administrators of such judgement derive their power, which may (by the same Law) be deemed the supreme power or authority of Magistracy in the Kingdom?

His Majesties Reasons against the pretended Jurisdiction of the High Court of Justice, which He intended to have delivered in writing on Monday, Jan. 22. 1648. but was not permitted.

HAVING already made My protestations not only against the illegality of this pretended Court, but also that no Earthly power can justly call Me (who am your KING) in question as a Delinquent; I would not any more open My mouth upon this occasion, more than to refer My self to what I have spoken, were I in this case alone concerned. But the duty I owe to God in the preservation of the true liberty of My people, will not suffer Me at this time to be silent. For, how can any free-born Subject of Engl. call Life, or any thing he possesseth, his own; if Pow-

er without Right daily make new, and abrogate the old fundamentall Law of the Land: which I now take to be the present case. Wherefore when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have satisfied Me concerning these grounds which hinder Me to answer to your pretended Impeachment; but since I see that nothing I can say will move you to it (though Negatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will shew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot judge Me, nor indeed the meanest Man in *England*; for, I will not (like you) without shewing a reason, seek to impose a belief upon My Subjects.

* Herca! out
I was kept,
& not suffe-
red to speak
any more
concerning
Reasons.

* There is no proceeding just against any Man, but what is warranted either by Gods Laws, or the municipal Laws of the Countrey where he lives. Now I am most confident, this daies proceeding cannot be warranted by Gods Law; for on the contrary, the authority of obedience unto Kings is clearly warranted and strictly commanded both in the Old and New Testament; which if denied, I am ready instantly to prove: and for the question now in hand, there it is said, That *where the word of a King is, there is power, and who may say unto him, what doest thou? Eccl. 8.4*. Then for the Law of this Land, I am no lesse confident that no learned Lawyer will affirm, that an
im-

Impeachment can lie against the King, they all going in His Name; and one of their Maxims is, *That the King can do no wrong*. Besides, the Law upon which you ground your proceedings, must either be old or new: if old, shew it; if new, tell what Authority warranted by the fundamentall Laws of the Land hath made it, and when. But how the House of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one it self (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the World to judge: And it were full as strange that they should pretend to make Laws without King or Lords House, to any that have heard speak of the Lawes of *England*.

And admitting, but not granting, that the people of *Englands* Commission could grant your pretended power, I see nothing you can shew for that; for certainly you never asked the question of the tenth man in the Kingdome; and in this way you manifestly wrong even the poorest Ploughman, if you demand not his free consent; nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended Commission without the consent at least of the major part of every man in *Engl.* of whatsoever quality or condition, which I am sure you never went about to seek; so far are you from having it. Thus you see that I speak not for My own right alone, as I am your KING, But also for the true liberty of all My Subjects,

which consists not in the power of Government, but in living under such Lawes, such a Government, as may give themselves the best assurance of their lives and propriety of their goods. Nor in this must or do I forget the Priviledges of both Houses of Parliament, which this dayes proceedings doe not onely violate, but likewise occasion the greatest breach of their pulick Faith that (I believe) ever was heard of, with which I am far from charging the two Houses: for all the pretended crimes laid against Me, bear date long before this late Treaty at New-
port, in which I having concluded as much as in Me lay, & hopefully expecting the Houses agreement thereunto, I was suddenly surprized, and hurried from thence as a Prisoner, upon which account I am against My will brought hither; where since I am come, I cannot but to my power defend the ancient Lawes and Liberties of this Kingdome together with my own just right. Then, for any thing I can see the higher House is totally excluded. And for the House of Commons, it is too well known that the major part of them are detained or deterred from sitting, so as if I had no other, this were sufficient for Me to protest against the lawfulnessse of your pretended Court. Besides all this, the peace of the Kingdome is not the least in My thoughts, and what hopes of settlement is there so long as Power reigns without rule or Law, changing the
whole

whole frame of that Government, under which this Kingdome hath flourished for many hundred years (nor will I say what will fall out in case this lawless unjust proceeding against Me do go on) and believe it, the Commons of *England* will not thank you for this change, for they will remember how happy they have been of late years under the reign of *Qu. Elizabeth*, the King My Father, and My Self, untill the beginning of these unhappy Troubles, and will have cause to doubt that they shall never be so happy under any new. And by this time it will be too sensibly evident, that the Arms I took up were onely to defend the fundamentall Laws of this Kingdome, against those who have supposed My power hath totally changed the ancient Governemene.

Thus having shewed you briefly the Reasons why I cannot submit to your pretended Authority without violating the trust which I have from God for the welfare and liberty of My People; I expect from you either clear Reasons to convince My judgement, shewing Me that I am in an Error (and then truly I will answer) or that you will withdraw your proceedings.

This I intended to speak in Westminster-Hall on Monday, 22 Januar. but against Reason was hindered.

The

The Names of those persons, who presumed at severall times actually to sit as Judges upon their Sovereign Lord, whereof about 73 did passe Sentence of Death upon him, with the Names of the Council and Officers that attended them.

Serjeant *John Bradsham*,
President.
L. Gen *Oliver Cromwel*,
Com. General *Ireton*,
Major General *Skippon*,
Sir *Hardresse Waller*,
Col. *Thomas Harrison*,
Col. *Edward Whalley*,
Col. *Thomas Pride*,
Col. *Isaac Ewer*,
Col. *Richard Ingolby*,
Sir *Henry Mildmay*,
Thomas Lord Grey,
Philip Lord Lisle,
William Lord Munson,
Sir *John Danvers*,
Sir *Thomas Maleverer*,
Sir *John Bowcher*,
Sir *James Harrington*,
Sir *William Brereton*,
William Henningham Esq;
Isaac Pennington Alderm.
Thomas Atkins Ald.
Island Wilson Ald.
Sir *Peter Wentworth*,
Col. *Henry Martin*,
Col. *William Purfoy*.

Col. *Godfrey Bosvil*,
Col. *John Berkestead*,
Sir *William Constable*,
Col. *Edward Ludlow*,
Col. *John Hutchinson*,
Col. *Robert Titchburn*,
Col. *Owen Roe*,
Col. *Adrian Scroops*,
Col. *John Okey*,
Col. *John Harrison*,
Col. *John Desborough*,
Cornelius Holland Esq;
Miles Corbet Esq;
Francis Allen Esq;
Peregrine Pelham Esq;
John Gourdon Esq;
Serjeant *Francis Thorp*,
Thomas Challoner Esq;
Col. *John Moor*,
John Alured, Esq;
Col. *Francis Tassells*,
Henry Smith Esq;
James Chaloner Esq;
Dennis Bond Esq;
Humphrey Edwards Esq;
Gregory Clement Esq;
John Fry Esq;

Thomas Wogan Esq;
Sir Gregory Norton;
Col. Edmund Harvey;
John Doye Esq;
Col. John Venne;
John Foulkes Alderman,
Thomas Scot Alderman,
The. Andrews Alderman,
William Cawley Esq;
Anthony Stapely,
John Lisle Esq;
John Corbet Esq;
Thomas Blunt Esq;
Thomas Boone Esq;
Col. George Fleetwood,
Col. James Temple,
Col. Thomas Waite,
John Browne Esq;
William Say Esq;
Col. Matthew Tomlinson,

John Blackston,
Gilbert Millington,
Abraham Barril,
Col. John Downes,
Mr. Norton,
L. Gen. Tho. Hammond,
Nicholas Love,
Vincent Potter,
Augustin Garland,
Sir Miles Divesey,
John Dextel,
Simon Mayre,
Daniel Blagrove,
Col. Robert Lilburne,
Col. Richard Deane,
Col. Hewson,
L. Col. William Goffe,
Mr. Carew,
Io. Ioanis.
 92 In all.

Councillours assistant to draw up the Charge against the KING,

Dr. Isaac Dorislaus, Mr. Aske, Mr. Cook, and Mr. Steele, (who by reason of sicknesse was absent.)

Serjeant Dandy, Serjeant at Arms, Mr. Phelps. Clerk.

Messengers and Door-keepers,

Mr. Walford, Mr. Radly, Mr. Paine, Mr. Howell, Mr. Hull.

And Mr. King Cryer.



The manner of the Tryall of CHARLES
STUART King of England, in the great
Hall in Westminster; January 20. 1648.

ON Saturday, being the twentieth day of
January 1648. The Lord Bradshaw, Pre-
sident of the High Court of Justice, with
neer fourscore of the Members of the said Court,
having sixteen Gentlemen with Partizans, and
a Sword, and a Mace, with their, and other of-
ficers of the said Court marching before them,
came to the place ordered to be prepared for
their sitting, at the West end of the great Hall in
Westminster; where the Lord President in a Crim-
son Velvet Chair, fixed in the midst of the Court,
placed himself, having a Desk with a Crimson
Velvet Cushion before him; The rest of the Mem-
bers placing themselves on each side of him up-
on the severall Seats, or Benches, prepared and
hung with Scarlet for that purpose; and the Parti-
zans dividing themselves on each side of the
Court before them.

The Court being thus set, and silence made;
the great Gate of the said Hall was set open, to
the end, That all persons, without exception, de-
sirous to see, or hear, might come into it; upon
which the Hall was presently filled; and silence
again ordered.

This done, Colonel Tomlinson, who had the
charge

charge of the Prisoner, was commanded to bring him to the Court, who within a quarter of an hours space brought him attended with about twenty Officers with Partizans marching before him, there being other Gentlemen, to whole care and custody he was likewise committed, marching in his Rear.

Being thus brought up within the face of the Court, The Serjeant at Arms, with his Mace, receives and conducts him streight to the Bar, having a Crimson Velvet Chair set before him. After a stern looking upon the Court, and the people in the Galleries on each side of him, he places himself, not at all moving his Hat, or otherwise shewing the least respect to the Court, but presently rises up again, and turnes about, looking downwards upon the Guards placed on the left side, and on the multitude of spectators on the right side of the said great Hall. After silence made among the people, the Act of Parliament, for the Trying of CHARLES STUART King of *England*, was read over by the Clerk of the Court, who sate on one side of the Table covered with a rich Turkey Carpet, and placed at the feet of the said Lord President, upon which Table was also laid the Sword and Mace.

Act 19. After reading the said Act, the severall names of the Commissioners were called over, every one who was present, being eighty, as aforesaid, rising up, and answering to his Call.

Having

Moving again placed himself in his Chair, with his face towards the Court, Silence being again ordered, the Lord President stood up, and said:

Lord President. CHARLES STUART, King of England, The Commons of England Assembled in Parliament, being deeply sensible of the Calamities that have been brought upon this Nation (which is fixed upon you as the principal Author of it) have resolved to make inquisition for Blood, & according to that Debt and Duty they owe to Justice, to God, the Kingdom, and themselves, and according to the Fundamentall Power that rests in themselves, They have resolved to bring you to Tryal and Judgement; and for that purpose have constituted this High Court of Justice, before which you are brought.

This said, M. Cook, Attorney for the Commonwealth (standing within a Bar on the right hand of the Prisoner) offered to speak: but the King having a staffe in his hand, held it up, and laid it upon the said M. Cooks shoulders two or three times, bidding him hold; Nevertheless, the Lord President ordering him to go on, he said:

M. Cook. My Lord, I am commanded to charge Charles Stuart, King of England, in the name of the Commons of England, with Treason and high Misdemeanors; I desire the said Charge may be read.

The said Charge being delivered to the Clerk of the Court, the Lord President ordered it should

be read; but the King bid him hold: Nevertheless, being commanded by the Lord President to read it, the Clerk begun.

The Charge of the Commons of England against CHARLES STUART King of England, of High Treason, and other High Crimes, exhibited to the High Court of Justice.

THat the said Charles Stuart being admitted King of Engl. and therein trusted with a limited Power, to govern by, and according to the Laws of the Land, and not otherwise; And by his Trust, Oath, and office, being obliged to use the Power committed to him, For the good and benefit of the People, and for the preservation of their Rights & Liberties; Yet nevertheless out of a wicked design, to erect, and uphold in himself an unlimited & Tyrannical Power to rule according to his Will, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the People; yea, to take away, and make void the Foundations thereof, and of all redresse & remedy of misgovernment, which by the fundamentall Constitutions of this Kingdom, were reserved on the peoples behalf, in the Right and Power of frequent and successive Parliaments, or National meetings in Councel; He, the said Charles Stuart, for accomplishment of such his Designs, and for the protecting of himself and his adherents, in His, and Their wicked practises to the same Ends, hath Tray-

terously

travels and maliciously levied War against the present Parliament, and the People therein Represented.

Particularly, upon or about the thirtieth day of June, in the year of our Lord, One thousand six hundred forty and two at Beverley in the County of York; And upon or about the thirtieth day of July in the year aforesaid, in the County of the city of York; and upon, or about the twenty fourth day of August, in the same year, at the County of the Town of Nottingham (when and where he set up His Standard of War;) And upon, or about the twenty third day of October in the same year, at Edg-Hill, and Keinton-field, in the County of Warwick; And upon, or about the thirtieth day of November, in the same year, at Brainford, in the County of Middlesex; And upon, or about the thirtieth day of August, in the year of our Lord, One thousand six hundred forty and three, at Caversham bridge, neer Reading, in the County of Berks; And upon, or about the thirtieth day of October, in the year last mentioned, at, or neer the City of Gloucester; And upon, or about the thirtieth day of November, in the year last mentioned, at Newbery, in the County of Berks; And upon, or about the one and thirtieth day of July, in the year of our Lord, One thousand six hundred forty and four, at Cropredy-Bridge, in the County of Oxon; And upon, or about the thirtieth day of September, in the year last mentioned, at Bodmin, and other places neer adjacent, in the County of Cornwall; And upon, or about

the thirtieth day of November, in the year last mentioned, at Newbery aforesaid; And upon or about the eight day of June, in the year of our Lord, One thousand six hundred forty and five, at the Town of Leicester; and also upon the fourteenth day of the same month, in the same year, at Naseby-field, in the County of Northampton: At which several times and places, or most of them, and at many other places in this Land, at several other times, within the years aforesaid, and in the year of our Lord, One thousand six hundred forty and six, He the said Charles Stuart hath caused and procured many thousands of the Free-People of the Nation to be slain; and by Divisions, Parties, and Insurrections within this Land, by Invasions from Forreign parts, endeavoured and procured by Him, and by many other evil waies and means, He the said Charles Stuart hath not onely maintained and carried on the said War, both by Land and Sea, during the years before mentioned; but also hath renewed, or caus'd to be renewed, the said War against the Parliament, and good People of this Nation, in this present year One thousand six hundred forty and eight, in the Counties of Kent, Essex, Surry, Suffex, Middlesex, and many other Counties and places in England and Wales, and also by Sea. And particularly, He the said Charles Stuart hath for that purpose given Commission to his Son the Prince, and others; whereby, besides multitudes of other Persons, many such as were by the Parliament intrusted and employed for the safety

of Satisfaction, being by Him or His Agents disrupted
 in the betraying of Their trust, and revolting
 from the Parliament, have had entertainment and
 Commission for the continuing and renewing of War
 and Hostility against the said Parliament and Peo-
 ple, as aforesaid. By which cruel and unnatural Wars
 by Him the said Charles Stuart levied, continued, &
 renewed, as aforesaid, much Innocent Blood of the
 Free-people of this Nation hath been spilt, many
 Families have been undone, the Publick Treasury
 wasted and exhausted, Trade obstructed, and mi-
 serably decayed, vast expence and damage to the
 Nation incurred, and many parts of the Land spoi-
 led, some of them even to Desolation.

And for further prosecution of his said evil Designs,
 He the said Charles Stuart doth still continue his
 Commissions to the said Prince, and other Rebels and
 Revolters, both English and Forraigners, and to the
 Earle of Ormond, and to the Irish Rebels and Re-
 voltors associated with him, from whom further In-
 vasions upon this Land are threatened, upon the pro-
 curement, and on the behalfe of the said Charles
 Stuart.

All which wicked Designs, Wars, and evil pra-
 ctises of Him the said Charles Stuart, have been, &
 are carried on, for the advancing and upholding of
 the Personal Interest of Will and Power, and pretend-
 ed Prerogative to Himself and his family, against
 the publick interest, Common Right, Liberty, Jus-
 tice, and Peace of the people of this Nation,
 by

by, and for whom he was entrusted, as aforesaid.
By all which it appeareth, that he the said Charles Stuart, hath been, and is the Occasioner, Author and Contriver of the said unnaturall, cruell, and bloody Wars, and therein guilty of all the Treasons, Murthers, Rapines, Burnings, Spoiles, Desolations, Damage and Mischief to this Nation, acted or committed in the said Wars, or occasioned thereby.

And the said John Cook, by Protestation (saving on the behalf of the People of England, the Liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter, any other Charge against the said Charles Stuart, and also of replying to the answers which the said Charles Stuart shall make to the premises, or any of them, or any other Charge that shall be so exhibited) doth for the said Treasons and Crimes, on the behalf of the said People of England, impeach the Charles Stuart as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer, and a publick and implacable Enemy to the Common-wealth of England: And pray, that the said Charles Stuart, King of England, may be put to answer All and Every the Premises, that such Proceedings, Examinations, Tryals, Sentence and Judgement may be hereupon had, as shall be agreeable to Justice.

IT is observed, that the time the Charge was reading, the King sat down in his Chair, looking sometimes on the Court, sometimes up to the Galleries; and having risen again, and turned about

about to behold the Guards and Spectators, sat down, looking very sternly with a countenance not at all moved, til these words, *viz.* (*Charles Stuart* to be a *Tyrant & Traitor, &c.*) were read, at which he laughed as he sat in the face of the Court.

The Charge being read, the L. Presid. replied : *Lord President.* Sir, you have now heard your Charge read, containing such matters as appear in it ; you find, that in the close of it, it is prayed to the Court, in the behalf of the *Commons of England*, that you answer to your charge. The Court expects your answer.

The King. I would know by what power I am called hither : I was, not long ago, in the *Isle of Wight* ; how I came there is a longer story than I think is fit at this time for me to speak of ; but there I entred into a *Treaty* with both Houses of *Parliament* with as much publick faith as it's possible to be had of any people in the world. I treated there with a number of honourable Lords and Gentlemen, and treated honestly and uprightly ; I cannot say but they did very nobly with me, we were upon a conclusion of the *Treaty*. Now I would know by what Authority, I mean lawfull ; there are many unlawfull Authorities in the world, Theeves and Robbers by the high-ways : but I would know by what Authority I was brought from thence, and carried from place to place, (& I know not what) & when I know by what lawful authority, I shall answer. Remember
I

an your King, and what sins you bring upon your heads, and the Judgement of God upon this Land; think well upon it, I say, think well upon it, before you go further from one sin to a greater; therefore let me know by what lawfull Authority I am seated here, and I shall not be unwilling to answer: in the mean time I shall not betray my Trust; I have a Trust committed to me by God, by old and lawfull descent, I will not betray it to answer to a new unlawfull Authority; therefore resolve me that, and you shall hear more of me.

Lord Presid. If you had been pleased to have observed what was biered to you by the Court at your first coming hither, you would have known by what Authority; which Authority requires you, in the name of the people of England, of which you are elected King, to answer them.

The King. No Sir, I deny that.

Lord Presid. If you acknowledge not the Authority of the Court, they must proceed.

The King. I do tell them so, England was never an Elective Kingdome, but an Hereditary Kingdome for neer these thousand years; therefore let me know by what authority I am called hither. I do stand more for the Libertie of my People, than any here that come to be my pretended Judges: and therefore let me know by what lawfull authority I am seated here, and I will answer it, otherwise I will not answer it.

L. Presid. Sir, how really you have managed your Trust, is known: your way of answer is to interrogate the Court, which befits not you in this condition. You have been told of it twice or thrice.

The King. Here is a Gentleman, Lieut Col. Cobbet, (ask him) if he did not bring me from the Isle of Wight by force; I do not come here as submitting to the Court: I will stand as much for the privilege of the House of Commons rightly understood, as any man here whatsoever. I see no House of Lords here that may constitute a Parliament, and (the King too) should have been. Is this the bringing of the King to his Parliament? Is this the bringing an end to the Treaty in the publick Faith of the world? Let me see a legall Authority warranted by the Word of God, the Scriptures, or warranted by the Constitutions of the Kingdome, and I will answer.

L. Presid. Sir, You have propounded a Question, and have been answered; seeing you will not answer, the Court will consider how to proceed: in the mean time, those that brought you hither are to take charge of you back again.

The Court desires to know whether this be all the Answer you will give, or no.

The King. Sir, I desired that you would give me and all the world satisfaction in this; let me tell you, it is not a slight thing you are about. I

am

I am sworn to keep the Peace by that duty I owe to God and my Countrey, and I will do it to the last breath of my body; and therefore you shall do well to satisfie, first God, and then the Countrey, by what Authority you do it; if you do it by an usurped Authority, that will not last long. There is a God in Heaven that will call you, and all that give you power, to account: satisfie me in that, and I will answer, otherwise I betray my Trust and the Liberties of the People; and therefore think of that, and then I shall be willing: For I do avow, that it is as great a sin to withstand lawfull Authority, as it is to submit to a Tyrannicall, or any other wayes unlawfull Authority; and therefore satisfie God and me, and all the World in that, and you shall receive my Answer: I am not afraid of the Bill.

Lord. Presid. The Court expects you should give them a finall Answer, their purpose is to adjourn till Monday next, if you do not satisfie yourself, though we do tell you our Authority, we are satisfied with our Authority, and it is upon Gods Authority and the Kingdoms; and that peace you speak of will be kept in the doing of Justice, and that's our present work.

The King. Let me tell you, if you shew me what lawfull Authority you have, I shall be satisfied: But that you have said satisfies no reasonable man.

L. Presid. That's in your apprehension; we think it reasonable that are your *findges*.

The King. 'Tis not my apprehension, nor yours neither, that ought to decide it.

Lord Presid. The Court hath heard you, and you are to be disposed of as they have commanded.

Two things were remarkable in this dayes proceedings.

1. It is to be observed, That as the Charge was reading against the King, the silver head of his staff fell off, the which he wondered at, and seeing none to take it up, he stooped for it himself.

2. That as the King was going away, he looked with a very austere countenance upon the Court, with stirring of his Hat, replied, Well Sir, (when the *L. President* commanded the Guard to take him away) and at his going down he said, *I do not fear that* (pointing with his staff at the Sword.) The people in the Hall, as he went down the stairs, cryed out, some, *God save the King*, and some for *Justice*.

O yes being called, the Court adjourned till Monday next, *Jan. 22.* at 9. in the morning to the painted Chamber, and from thence to the same place again in *Westminster Hall*.



40
The Tryall of
At the High Court of Justice sitting in Westminster Hall, Monday Jan. 22. 1648.

O Yes made: Silence commanded. The Court called, and answered to their names.

Silence commanded upon pain of imprisonment, and the Captain of the Guard to apprehend all such as make disturbance.

Upon the Kings coming in a shout was made.

Command given by the Court to the Captain of the Guard to fetch and take into his custody those who make any disturbance;

Mr. Solicitor. May it please your Lordship my Lord President,

I did at the last Court, in the behalf of the Commons of England, exhibit and give in to this Court a charge of high Treason, and other high Crimes against the Prisoner at the Bar, whereof I do accuse him in the name of the People of England; and the Charge was read unto him, and his Answer required. My Lord, he was not then pleased to give an Answer, but instead of answering, did there dispute the Authority of this High Court. My humble Motion to this High Court, in behalf of the Kingdom of England, is, That the Prisoner may be directed to make a positive Answer, either by way of Confession or Negation; which if he shall refuse to do, that the matter of Charge may be taken

non pro confesse, and the Court may proceed according to Justice.

L. Presid. Sir, You may remember at the last Court you were told the occasion of your being brought hither, and you heard a Charge against you, containing a Charge of High Treason, and other high Crimes, against this *Realm of England*; you heard likewise, that it was prayed in the behalf of the People, that you should give an Answer to that Charge, that thereupon such proceedings might be had as should be agreeable to Justice: you were then pleased to make some scruples concerning the Authority of this Court, and knew not by what Authority you were brought hither; you did divers times propound your Questions, and were as often answered, That it was by authority of the *Commons of England assembled in Parliament*, that did think fit to call you to account for those high and capital Misdemeanours wherewith you were then charged. Since that the Court hath taken into consideration what you then said, they are fully satisfied with their own authority, and they hold it fit you should stand satisfied with it too; and they do require it, that you do give a positive and particular Answer to this Charge that is exhibited against you, they do expect you should either confess or deny it; if you deny it, it is offered in the behalf of the Kingdome to be made good against you: their authority they do avow

At the Bar of the Court

The Tryall of
to the whole world, that the whole Kingdome
are to rest satisfied in, and you are to rest satisfied
with it, and therefore you are to lose no more
time, but to give a positive Answer thereunto.

The King. When I was here last, 'tis true, I made
that Question, and truly if it were onely my own
particular case, I would have satisfied my self with
the Protestation I made the last time: I was here
against the legality of this Court, and that a King
cannot be tried by any Superiour Jurisdiction on
Earth; but it is not my case alone, it is the Free-
dom and the Liberry of the people of England;
and do you pretend what you will, I stand more
for then Liberties. For if power without Law
may make Lawes, may alter the fundamentall
Lawes of the Kingdome, I do not know what
Subject he is in England that can be sure of his
life, or any thing that he calls his own; therefore
when that I came here, I did expect particular
Reasons to know by what Law, what Authority
you did proceed against me here, and therefore I
am a little to seek what to say to you in this par-
ticular, because the Affirmative is to be proved,
the Negative of ten is very hard to do: but since
I cannot perswade you to do it, I shall tell you
my Reasons as short as I can.

My Reasons why in conscience, and the duty
Powe to God first, and my people next, for the
preservation of their Lives, Liberties and E-
states, I conceive I cannot answer this, till I be sa-
tisfied of the legality of it. All

All proceedings against any man whatsoever
 which have been ever bloudy nor did we
 do. *President.* Sir, I must interrupt you, which I
 would not do, but that what you do is not agree-
 able to the proceedings of any Court of Justice,
 you are about to enter into Argument, and dis-
 pute concerning the authority of this Court, be-
 fore whom you appear as a Prisoner, and are char-
 ged as an high Delinquent, if you take upon you
 to dispute the Authority of the Court, we may
 not do it, nor will any Court give way unto it, you
 are to submit unto it, you are to give in a punctu-
 al and direct Answer, whether you will answer
 your Charge, or no, and what your Answer is.

The King. Sir, by your favour, I do not know the
 forms of Law, I do know Law & Reason, though
 I am no Lawyer profess'd, but I know as much
 Law as any Gentleman in *Engl.* and therefore
 (under favour) I do plead for the Liberties of the
 People of *Engl.* more than you do, and therefore
 if I should impose a belief upon any man without
 Reasons given for it, it were unreasonable; but
 I must tell you, That that Reason that I have as
 thus formed, I cannot yield unto it.

L. President. Sir, I must interrupt you, you may
 not be permitted; you speak of Law and Rea-
 son, it is fit there should be Law and Reason, and
 there is both against you. Sir, the Vote of the
 Commons of *England* assembled in Parliament,
 is the reason of the Kingdome, and they are

these do that have given that Law, according to which you should have ruled and reigned: Sir, you are not to dispute our Authority, you are told it again by the Court, Sir, it will be taken notice of, that you stand in contempt of the Court, and your contempt will be recorded accordingly.

The King. I do not know how a King can be a Delinquent, not by any Law that ever I heard of, all men (Delinquents, or what you will) let me tell you, they may put in Demurres against any proceeding as legal, and I do demand that, and demand to be heard with my Reasons, if you deny that, you deny Reason.

Le Presid. Sir, you have offered something to the Court, I shall speak something unto you the sense of the Court, Sir, neither you nor any man are permitted to dispute that point, you are concluded, you may not demur the Jurisdiction of the Court, if you do, I must let you know, that they over-rule your Demurrer, they sit here by the Authority of the Commons of *Engl.* and all your Predecessors & you are responsible to them.

The King. I deny that, shew me one president.
L. Pr. Sir, you ought not to interrupt while the Court is speaking to you, this point is not to be debated by you, neither will the Court permit you to do it, if you offer it by way of Demurrer to the Jurisdiction of the Court, they have considered of their Jurisdiction, they do affirm their own Jurisdiction.

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The King. I lay Sir, by your favour, that the Commons of Engl. was never a Court of Judicature, I would know how they came to be so.

L. Presid. Sir, you are not to be permitted to go on in that speech and these discourses.

Then the Clerk of the Court read as followeth, Charles Stuart King of Engl. *You have been accused on the behalf of the People of England of High Treason, and other high Crimes; the Court have determined that you ought to answer the same.*

The King. I will answer the same so soon as I know by what Authority you do this.

L. Presid. If this be all that you will say, then, Gentlemen, you that brought the Prisoner hither, take charge of him back again.

The King. I do require that I may give in my Reasons why I do not answer, and give me time for that.

L. Presid. Sir, 'Tis not for Prisoners to require.

The King. Prisoners? Sir, I am not an ordinary Prisoner.

L. Presid. The Court hath considered of their Jurisdiction, and they have already affirmed their Jurisdiction; if you will not answer, we shall give order to record your default.

The King. You never heard my Reasons yet.

L. Presid. Sir, Your Reasons are not to be heard against the highest Jurisdiction.

The King. Shew me that Jurisdiction where reason is not to be heard.

Lord President Sir, We shew you here, the
Comptons of England; and the next time you
are brought, you will know more of the pleasure
of the Court, and it may be, their final deter-
mination.

The King, Shew me where ever the House of
Commons was a court of Judicature of that kind.

Lord President, Serjeant, Take away the Pri-
soner.

The King, Well Sir, Remember that the King
is not suffered to) give in his Reasons for the Li-
berty and Freedom of all his Subjects.

Lord President, Sir, You are not to have liber-
ty to use this language; how great a friend you
have been to the Laws and Liberties of the peo-
ple, let all England and the World judge.

The King, Sir, under favour, it was the Liberty,
Freedom, and Laws of the Subject that I
took up Arms defended my self with Arms, I
never took up Arms against the People, but for
the Laws.

Lord President, The command of the court
must be obeyed; no answer will be given to the
charge.

The King, Well Sir,

Then the Lord President ordered the default
to be recorded, and the contempt of the court,
and that no answer would be given to the charge.

And so was guarded forth to Sir Robert Cotton's
house,

Then

Then the court adjourned to the painted chamber on Tuesday at twelve a clock, and from thence they intend to adjourn to Westminster Hall, at which time all persons concerned are to give their attendance.

At the High Court of Justice sitting in Westminster Hall, Tuesday, Jan. 23. 1648.

O Yes made. Silence commanded. The Court called. Seventy three persons present.

The King comes in with his Guard, looks with an austere countenance upon the Court, and sits down.

The second O Yes made, and silence commanded.

Mr. Cook. Solicitor General. May it please your Lordship, my Lord President.

This is now the third time, that by the great grace and favour of this high Court the prisoner hath been brought to the Bar, before any issue joyned in the cause. My Lord, I did at the first Court exhibit a charge against him, containing the highest Treason that ever was wrought upon the Theatre of England: That a King of England, trusted to keep the Law, That had taken an Oath to do so, That had Tribute paid him for that end, should be guilty of a wicked design, to subvert & destroy our Laws, and introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannicall Government in the defence of the Parliamt

48
The Tryall of
James and their Authority, set up his Standard
for War against his Parliament and People, and
I did humbly pray, in the behalf of the *people of*
England, that he might speedily be required to
make an Answer to the Charge.

But my Lord, instead of making any answer, he
did then dispute the Authority of this High
Court, your Lordship was pleased to give him a
further day to consider, and to put in his Answer;
which day being yesterday, I did humbly move,
that he might be required to give a direct and
positive answer, either by denying or confession
of it: but (my Lord) he was then pleased for to
demur to the Jurisdiction of the Court, which
the Court did then over-rule and command him
to give a direct and positive answer. My Lord,
besides this great delay of Justice, I shall now
humbly move your Lordship for speedy judge-
ment against him, My Lord, I might press your
Lordship upon the whole, that according to the
known Rules of the Law of the Land, that if a
Prisoner shall stand as contumacious in contempt,
and shall not put in an issuable plea, guilty or not
guilty of the Charge given against him, whereby
he may come to a fair Tryal; that as by an im-
plicate confession, it may be taken *pro confesso*, as
it hath been done to those who have deserved
more favour than the Prisoner at the Bar has
done: but besides, my Lord, I shall humbly press
your Lordship upon the whole Fact; the House of

Com-

Commons, the supreme authority and jurisdiction of the Kingdom, they have declared, That it is notorious, That the matter of the Charge is true, as it is in truth (my Lord) as clear as chrysell, and as the Sun that shines at noon day, which if your Lordship and the court be not satisfied in, I have notwithstanding, on the people of *Englands* behalf, severall witnesses to produce. And therefore, I do humbly pray, and yet I must confesse it is not so much I, as the innocent blood that hath been shed, the cry whereof is very great for justice and judgement; and therefore I do humbly pray, That speedy *Judgement* be pronounced against the prisoner at the Bar.

Lord Pres. Sir, You have heard what is moved by the Council on the behalf of the Kingdom against you. Sir, you may well remember, and if you do not, the court cannot forget what delatory dealings the court hath found at your hands, you were pleased to propound some Questions, you have had your Resolution upon them. You were told over and over again, That the court did affirme their own jurisdiction. That it was not for you nor any other man, to dispute the *Jurisdiction of the Supreme and highest Authority of England*, from which there is no appeal, and touching which there must be no dispute; yet you did persist in such carriage, as you give no manner of obedience, nor did you acknowledge any Authority in them, nor the *high Court, that constituted this Court of Justice.*

Sir,

Sir, I must let you know from the Court, That they are very sensible of these delays of yours, and that they ought not, being thus Authorized by the Supreme Court of England to be thus tried with all, and that they might in justice, if they pleased, and according to the Rules of justice, take advantage of these delays, and proceed to pronounce judgement against you: yet nevertheless they are pleased to give direction, and on their behalfs, I do require you, That you make a positive Answer unto this charge that is against you, Sir, in plain terms, for Justice knowes no respect of persons, you are to give your positive and final Answer in plain English, whether you be guilty or not guilty of these Treasons laid to your charge.

The King after a little pause, said:

When I was here yesterday I did desire to speak for the *Liberties of the People of England*; I was interrupted: I desire to know yet whether I may speak freely or not.

Lord President, Sir, You have had the Resolution of the court upon the like Question the last day and you were told, That having such a charge of so high a Nature against you, and your Work was, that you ought to acknowledge the Jurisdiction of the Court, *And to Answer to your charge* Sir, if you Answer to your Charge, which the court gives you leave now to do though they might have taken the advantage of your contempt,

yet if you be able to answer to your charge, when you have once Answered, you shall be heard at large, make the best Defence you can. But Sir, I must let you know from the court as their commands, that you are to not be permitted to issue out into any other discourses, till such time as you have given a positive Answer concerning the *Matter* that is *Charged* upon you.

The King. For the *Charge*, I value it not a rush; it is the *Liberty* of the People of England that I stand for; for me to acknowledge a new *Contract* that I never heard of before, I that am your King, that should be an example to all the people of England, for to uphold Justice, to maintain the old Laws, indeed I do not know how to do it; you spoke very well the first day that I came here, (on Saturday) of the Obligations that I had laid upon me by God, to the maintenance of the *Liberties* of my People: The same Obligation you speak of, I do acknowledge to God that I owe to him, and to my People, to defend as much as in me lies, the ancient Lawes of the Kingdom, therefore untill that I may know that this is not against the *Fundamentall Lawes* of the Kingdom, by your favour I can put in no particular charge.

If you will give me time, I will then shew you my reasons why; but I suppose I cannot do it, and this *judgment* he *meant* *ans.* Here being interrupted, he said.

By

By your favour, you ought not to interrupt me, how I came here I know not, there's no Law for it to make you King your Prisoner: I was in a Treaty upon the Publick Faith of the Kingdom, that was the known two Houses of Parliament that was the Representative of the Kingdom, and when that I had almost made an end of the Treaty, then I was hurried away and brought hither, and therefore the Court.

Here the Lord President said, Sir, you know the pleasure of the Court.

The King. By your favour Sir:

D. Pres. Nay Sir, by your favour, you may not be permitted to fall into those discourtesies, you appear as a Delinquent, you have not acknowledged the Authority of the Court, the Court craves it not of you, but once more they command you to give your positive Answer. Clerk, Do your Duty.

The King. Duty Sir!

The Clerk reads.

Charles Stuart King of England, You are accused in the behalf of the Commons of England of divers high crimes and Treasons, which charge hath been read unto You, the Court now requires you to give your positive and final Answer by way of confession, or deniall of the charge.

The King. Sir, I say again to you, so that I might give satisfaction to the People of England of the cleareness of my proceeding, not by way of Answer, not in this way, but to satisfy them
that

I have done nothing against that Trust that hath been committed to me, I would do it; but to acknowledge a new Court against their Priviledges, to alter the fundamentall Lawes of that Kingdom, Sir you must excuse me.

L. Pres. Sir, this is the third time that you have publickly disowned this Court, and put an affront upon it, how far you have preserved Priviledges of the People, your Actions have spoke it; but truly Sir, mens intentions ought to be known by their actions, you have written your meaning in bloody Characters throughout the whole Kingdom, but Sir, you understand the pleasure of the Court, ————— Clerk Record the default, ————— and Gentlemen, you that took charge of the Prisoner, take him back again.

The King. I will onely say this one word more to you, if it were only My own particular, I would not say any more, nor interrupt you.

Lord Pres. Sir, you have heard the pleasure of the Court, and you are (notwithstanding you will not understand it) to find that you are before a Court of Justice.

Then the King went forth with his Guard, and Proclamation was made, That all persons who had then appeared, and had further to do at the Court might depart into the Painted Chamber, to which place the Court did forthwith adjourn, and intended to meet in *Westminster Hall* by ten of the clock the next morning.

Cryer.

Cry. God bless the Kingdome of England
Wednesday, January 24. 1648;

THis day it was expected the *High Court of Justice* would have met in *Westminster Hall* about ten of the clock, but at the time appointed, one of the *Ushers*, by direction of the *Court* (then sitting in the *Painted Chamber*) gave notice to the people there assembled, That in regard the *Court* was then upon the examination of *Witnesses* in relation to present affairs, in the *Painted Chamber*, they could not sit there, but all persons appointed to be there, were to appear upon further *Summons*.

The Proceedings of the High Court of Justice, sitting in Westminster Hall, on Saturday the 27th of January, 1648.

OYes made; Silence commanded. The *Court* called, *Serjeant Bradshaw*, *Lord President* (in a *Scarlet robe*) with 68. other *Members* of the *Court*.

As the *King* comes in, a cry made in the *Hall* for *Execution, justice, Execution.*

King. I shall desire a word to be heard a little, and I hope I shall give no occasion of interruption.

Lord Presid. You may answer in your time, hear the *Court* first.

King.

King. If it please you, Sir, I desire to be heard, and I shall not give any occasion of interruption, and it is onely in a word, a sudden Judgement.

Lord Presid. Sir, you shall be heard in due time, but you are to heare the Court first.

King. Sir, I desire it, it will be in order to what I believe the Court will say; and therefore Sir, a hasty judgement is not so soon recalled.

Lord Presid. Sir, you shall be heard before the Judgement be given, and in the meane time you forbear.

King. Well Sir, shall I be heard before the Judgement be given?

Lord Presid. Gentlemen, it is well known to all, or most of you here present, That the Prisoner at the Bar hath been severall times convened, and brought before the Court to make Answer to a Charge of Treason, and other High crimes exhibited against him in the name of the People of * England; to which

* Here a Lady interrupted the court, (saying, nor half the people) but she was soon silenced.

Charge being required to Answer, he hath been so far from obeying the commands of the Court by submitting to their Justice, as he began to take upon him to offer reasoning and debate unto the authority of the Court, and of the highest Court that constituted the to try and judge him; but being overruled in that, and required to make

make his answer, he was still pleased to continue
contumacious, and to refuse to submit or answer.
Hereupon the Court, that they may not be want-
ing to themselves, to the trust reposed in them,
nor that any mans wilfulnesse prevent justice,
they have thought fit to take the matter into
their consideration; They have considered of the
contumacy and of that confession, which in Law
doth arise upon that contumacy; They have like-
wise considered of the notoriety of the Fact charg-
ed upon this Prisoner, and upon the whole mat-
ter they are resolved, and have agreed upon a
Sentence to be now pronounced against this Pri-
soner: but in respect he doth desire to be heard
before the Sentence be read, and pronounced, the
Court hath resolved that they will hear him: yet
Sir, thus much I must tell you before hand, which
you have been minded of at other Courts; That
if that you have to say be to offer any debate con-
cerning jurisdiction, you are not to be heard in it,
you have offered it formerly, and you have in-
deed struck at the root, that is, the power and Su-
preme Authority of the Commons of England, which
this court will not admit a debate of, and which in-
deed is an irrational thing in them to doe, being
a Court that acts upon Authority derived from
them, that they should presume to judge upon
their Superiority, from whom there's no Appeal.
But Sir, if you have any thing to say in defence of
your self concerning the matters charged, the
Court

God hath given me command to let you know
 they will hear you. I had h. y. I would h. y. now
 the King. Since that I see that you will not hear
 any thing of debate concerning that which I don-
 sit I thought most material for the peace of the
 Kingdome, and for the Liberty of the Subject, I
 shall wave it, I shall speak nothing to it, but
 only I must tell you, that this many a day all
 things have been taken away from me, but that
 that I call more dear to me than my Life, which
 is *My Conscience and My Honour*; and if I had re-
 spect to my life more than the *Peace of the King-
 dome*, the *Liberty of the Subject*, certainly I should
 have made particular defence for my self, for by
 that at least wise I might have delayed an ugly
 Sentence, which I believe will pass upon me;
 therefore certainly Sir, as a man that hath
 some understanding, some knowledge of the
 world, if that my true zeal to my Countrey
 had not overborn the care that I have of my
 own preservation, I should have gone another
 way to work than that I have done now Sir I con-
 ceive that an *hasty Sentence* once past may be soo-
 ner repented than recalled: & truly the self-same
 desire that I have for the *peace of the Kingdom* &
 the *liberty of the Subject*, more than *my own parti-
 cular*, does make me now at last desire, That ha-
 ving something for to say that concerns both, I
 desire before sentence be given, that I may be
 heard in the *Painted Chamber* before the Lords &c.

Commons, this delay cannot be prejudicial to you whatsoever I say, if that I say no reason, those that hear me must be judges. I cannot be judge of that that I have, if it be reason, and really for the welfare of the Kingdom, and the liberty of the Subject, I am sure on't, very well its worth the hearing, therefore I do conjure you, as you love that you pretend, I hope it's really, the Liberty of the Subject, the Peace of the Kingdom, that you will grant me the hearing before any Sentence be passed, I humbly desire this, that you will take this into your consideration, it may be you have not heard of it before hand, if you will, I'll re-rite, and you may think of it, but if I cannot get this Liberty, I do here protest, that so far these of Liberty and Peace are pure shews, and not otherwise, than that you will not hear your King.

Mr. L. Pres. Sir, you have now spoken.

The King. Yes Sir.

Mr. L. Pres. And this that you have said is a further declining of the Jurisdiction of this Court, which was the thing wherein you were limited before.

The King. Pray excuse me, Sir, for my interruption, because you mistake me, it is not a declining of it, you do judge me before you hear me speak, I say it will not, I do not decline it, though I cannot acknowledge the Jurisdiction of the Court, yet Sir, in this give me leave to say, I would do it, though I did not acknowledge it in this, I do protest it is not the declining of it,

I say, that I do say any thing but that that is for the Peace of the Kindome, and the Liberty of the Subject, then the blame is mine. Now I desire that you will take this into your consideration, if you will Ple withdraw.

L. Resp. Sir, this is not altogether new that you have moved unto us, not altogether new to us, though the first time in person you have offered it to the Court: Sir, you say you do not decline the Jurisdiction of the Court.

The King. Not in this that I have said.

L. Resp. I understand you well Sir, but nevertheless, that which you have offered seems to be contrary to that saying of yours; for the Court are ready to give a Sentence: it is not as you say, That they will not hear your King; for they have been ready to hear you, they have patiently waited your pleasure for three Courts together, to hear what you would say to the people charge against you, to which you have not vouchsafed to give any answer at all: Sir, this tends to a further delay; truly Sir, such delays in these matters may the Kindome nor Justice well bear; you have had three severall daies to have offered in this kind what you would have pleaded. This Court is founded upon that Authority of the Commons of England, in whom rests the Supreme Jurisdiction; that which you now tender is to have another Jurisdiction, and a separate Jurisdiction, I know very well you ex-

press your self. Sir, That notwithstanding that you would offer to the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, yet nevertheless you would proceed on here, I did hear you say so, but Sir, that you would offer there, whatever it is, must needs be in delay of the Justice here, so as if this Court be resolved and prepared for the Sentence, this that you offer they are not bound in justice to grant. But Sir, according to that you seem to desire, & because you shall know the further pleasure of the Court upon that which you have moved, the Court will withdraw for a time.

The King. Shall I withdraw?

L. Presid. Sir, You shall know the pleasure of the Court presently, the Court withdraws for half an hour into the Court of Wards.

Serjeant at Arms, the Court gives command that the Prisoner be withdrawn, and they give order for his return again.

The Court withdraws for half an hour & returns.

L. Presid. Serj. at Arms, send for your Prisoner.

Sir, You were pleased to make a motion here, to the Court to offer a desire of yours, touching the propounding of somewhat to the Lords in the Painted Chamber for the Peace of the Kingdom; Sir, you did in effect receive an answer before the Court adjourned; truly Sir, their withdrawing and adjournment was *pro forma tantum*, for it did not seem to them that there was any difficulty in the thing; they have considered of what you have

have moved, and have considered of their own Authority, which is founded, as hath been often said, upon the *Supreme Authority of the Commons of England assembled in Parliament*. The Court acts accordingly to their commission. Sir, the return I have to you from the Court is this, That they have been too much delayed by you already, and this that you now offer hath occasioned some little further delay, and they are *JUDGES* appointed by the highest *JUDGES*, and *Judges* are no more to delay then they are to deny Justice; they are good words, in the old *Charter of Engl. Nulli negabimus, nulli vendemus, nulli deferemus justitiam*. There must be no delay; but the truth is, Sir, and so every man here observes it, That you have much delayed them in your contempt and default, for which they might long since have proceeded to judgement against you; and notwithstanding what you have offered they are resolved to proceed to punishment and to judgment, and that is their unanimous resolution.

The King. Sir, I know it is in vain for me to dispute; I am no *Sceptick* for to deny the power that you have, I know that you have power enough; Sir, I confess, I think it would have been for the Kingdoms peace, if you would have taken the pains for to have shewn the lawfulness of your power: for this delay that I have desired, I confess it is a delay, but it is a delay very important

for the peace of the Kingdome; for it is not my
person that I look on alone, it is the Kingdomes
welfare, and the Kingdomes peace. It is an old
sentence, *That we should think on long before we
have resolved of great matters suddenly.* There-
fore, Sir, I do say again, that I doe put at your
doors all the inconveniency of an *hasty Sentence*;
I confels I have been here now I think this week,
this day eight daies was the day I came here
first, but a little delay of a day or two further
may give Peace, whereas an *hasty Judgement*
may bring on that trouble and perpetuall incon-
veniency to the Kingdome, that the child that is
unborn may repent it; and therefore againe out
of the Duty I owe to God and to my Countrey,
I do desire that I may be heard by the Lords and
Commons in the *Painted Chamber*, or any other
chamber that you will appoint me.

L. Pres. Sir, you have been already answered
to what you even now moved, being the same
you moved before, since the Resolution and the
Judgement of the Court in it, and the Court
now requires to know whether you have any
more to say for your self then you have said, be-
fore they proceed to Sentence.

The King, I say this, Sir, That if you hear me,
if you will give me but this delay, I doubt not
but I shall give some satisfaction to you all here,
and to my people after that, and therefore I do
require you, as you will answer it at the dread-
full

all day of Judgement, that you will consider in
your again.

L. Presid. Sir, I have received direction from
the Court, that you ought to have done so.

The King. Well Sir.

L. Presid. If this must be reinforced, or any
thing of this nature, your answer must be the
same, and they will proceed to Sentence, if you
have nothing more to say.

The King. I have nothing more to say, but I shall
desire that this may be entered what I have said.

L. Presid. The Court then, Sir, hath something to
say unto you, which although I know it will be ve-
ry unacceptable, yet notwithstanding they are
willing, and are resolved to discharge their Duty.

Sir, you speak very well of a precious thing that
you call *Peace*, & it had been much to be wished
that God had put it into your heart, that you had
as effectually and really endeavoured and studied
the *Peace of the Kingdome*, as now in words you
seem to pretend; but as you were told the other
day, *Actions must expound Intentions*, yet Actions
have been clean contrary; & truly Sir, it doth ap-
pear plainly enough to them, that you have gone
upon very erroneous principles, the *Kingdom* hath
felt it to their smart, and it will be no ease to you
to think of it; for, Sir, you have held your self, and
let fall such language, as if you had been no waies
subject to the Law, or that the Law had not
been your Superiour, Sir, the Court is very well

possible of it, and I hope to see all the understanding people of Engl. That the Law is your Superiour, that you ought to have ruled according to the Law, you ought to have done, so Sir, I know very well your pretence hath been that you have done so; but Sir, the difference hath been who shall be the *Expositors of this Law*; Sir, whether you & your party out of *Courts of Justice* shall take upon them to expound Law, or the *Courts of Justice*, who are the *Expounders*; nay, the *Soveraign* and the *High Court of Justice*, the *Parl. of Engl.* who are not onely the *highest Expounders*, but the *sole makers of the Law*. Sir, for you to set your self with your single judgement, and those that adhere unto you against the *highest Court of Justice*, that is not Law Sir, as the Law is your Superiour, so truly Sir there is something that is superiour to the Law, and that is indeed the *Parent or Author* of the Law, and that is the *people of England*; for Sir, as they are those that at the first (as other countries have done) did chuse to themselves this *form of Government*, even for Justice sake, that Justice might be administred, that Peace might be preserved; so Sir, they gave Laws to their *Governors*, according to which they should govern; and if those Laws should have proved inconvenient or prejudiciall to the publick, they had a power in them, & reserved to themselves to alter as they shal see cause. Sir, it is very true what some of your side have said, *Rex non habet parem*

This Court will say the same, while
 that you have not your Peer in some sense, for
 you are Major *singularis*, but they will aver again,
 that you are *Minor universalis*, and the same Author
 tells you that in *exhibitione juris*, there you have
 no power, but in *quasi iudiciali*,

This we know to be Law, *Rex habet superiorem,
 Deum & Legem, etiam & curiam*, and so saies the
 same Author; and truly, Sir, he makes bold to go
 a little further, *Debent ei ponere frantum*, They ought
 to triddle him; & Sir, we know very well the stories
 of old, Those Wars that were called the *Barons
 Wars*, when the Nobility of the Land did stand out
 for the liberty and property of the Subject, and would
 not suffer the Kings that did invade to play the
 Tyrants freer, but call them to account for it, we
 know that truth, That they did *Frantum ponere*.
 But Sir, if they do forbear to do their duty now,
 and are not so mindfull of their own Honor and
 the Kingdoms good, as the *Barons of England*
 will not be unmindfull of what is for their prefer-
 vation, and for their safety. *Iustitia fruendi causa
 Reges constituit sunt*: This we learn, the end of ha-
 ving Kings, or any other Governors, its for the en-
 joying of justice, that's the end. Now Sir, if so be
 the King will go contrary to the end of his Go-
 vernment; Sir, he must understand that he is but an
 Officer of trust, & he ought to discharge that trust,
 and they are to take order for the animadversion
 and

and punishment of such offenders. This is not Law of yesterday Sir, (since the time of the division between you and your people,) but it is Law of old. And we know very well the Authors and the Authorities that do tell us what the Law was in that point upon the Election of Kings, upon the Oath that they took unto their People; and if they did not observe it, there were those things called Parliaments; The Parliaments were they that were to adjudge the very words of the Author the plaints and wrongs done of the King and the Queen, or their Children; such wrong especially when the People could have no where else any remedy. Sir, that hath been the People of England's case, they could not have their remedy else where but in Parliament.

Sir, Parliaments were ordained for that purpose to redresse the grievances of the People, that was their main end; and truly Sir, if so be that the Kings of England had been rightly mindfull of themselves, they were never more in Majesty and State then in the Parliament: but how forgetfull some have been, *Stories* have told us, We have a miserable, a lamentable, a sad experience of it. Sir, by the old Laws of England, I speak these things the rather to you, because you were pleased to let fall the other day, you thought you had as much knowledge in the Law, as most Gentlemen in England; it is very well Sir. And truly Sir, it is very good for the Gentlemen of England to un-

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and that Law under which we live,
and by which they must be governed. And then
the Scripture saies, *They that know their Ma-
sters will and do it not*, what followes? The Law is
your Master, the Acts of Parliament.

The Parliaments were to be kept anciently we
find in our Author twice in the year. That the sub-
ject upon any occasion might have a ready remedy
and redresse for his Grievance. Afterwards by feve-
rall Acts of Parliament in the daies of your Pro-
decessor Edward the third they must have been
once a year. Sir, what intermission of Parliaments
hath been in your time it is very well known, and
the sad consequences of it and what in the interim
instead of these Parliaments, hath been by you
by an high and Arbitrary hand introduced upon
the people, that likewise hath been too well
known and felt. But when God by his Providence
had so brought it about, that you could no lon-
ger decline the calling of a Parliament, Sir, yet
it will appear what your ends were against the
Ancient and your Native Kingdom of Scotland:
The Parliament of England not serving your
ends against them, you were pleased to dissolve
it. Another great necessity occasioned the calling
of this Parliament, and what your designs and
plots and indeavours all along have been for the
ruining and confounding of this Parliament, hath
been very notorious to the whole Kingdom: And
truly Sir, in that you did strike at all; that had
been

been a lure way, I have brought about that, that
this lyes upon you, *To it Intention to Subvert the
Fundamental Laws of the Land*. For the great Bul-
wark of *Liberty of the People*, is the *Parliament of
England*; and to Subvert and Root up that, which
your aim hath been to do, certainly at one blow
you had confounded the liberties and the property
of *England*.

Truly Sir, it makes me call to mind, I cannot
forbear to expresse it, for Sir, we must deal plain-
ly with you, according to the merits of your
cause, so is our Commission, it makes me call
to mind (these proceedings of yours) that we
read of a great *Roman Emperor*, by the way let us
call him a great *Roman Tyrant*, *Caligula*, that
wished that the people of *Rome* had had but one neck,
that at one blow he might cut it off: and your pro-
ceedings have been somewhat like to this, for the
body of the people of *England* hath been (and
where else) represented but in the *Parliament*,
and could you have but confounded that, you
had at one blow cut off the neck of *England*.
But God hath reserved better things for us, and
hath pleased for to confound your designs, and
to break your Forces, and to bring your Per-
son into Custody, that you might be responsible
to Justice.

Sir, we know very well, That it is a question on
your side very much prest, *by what President we
shall proceed*: Truly Sir, for, *Presidents*, I shall not
upon

upon these occasions, I will not make any long discourse, but it is no new thing to see *Presidents* almost of all Nations, where the people (when power hath been in their hands) have been made bold to call their Kings to account, and where the change of Government hath upon occasion of the Tyranny and *Wolfe Government* of those that have been placed over them; I will not spend time to mention *France*, or *Spain*, or the Empire, or other Countries, volumes may be written of them; But truly Sir, that of the Kingdome of *Aragon*, I shall think some of us have thought upon it, when they have the Justice of *Aragon*, that is a man *tanquam in medio positus*, betwixt the King of *Spain* and the people of the Country, that if wrong be done by the King, he that is the King of *Aragon*, the Justice hath power to reform the wrong, and he is acknowledged to be the Kings Superiour, and is the grand Preserver of their priviledges, and hath prosecuted Kings upon their miscarriages.

Sir, What the Tribunes of *Rome* were heretofore, and what the Ephors were to the *Lacedemonian State*, we know that is the Parliament of *England* to the *English State*; & though *Rome* seem to have lost its liberty whē once the Emperours were, yet you shall find some famous acts of justice even done by the Senate of *Rome*: that great Tyrant of his time, *Nero*, condemned & judged by the Senate.

But

But truly Sir, to you I should not mention these Foreign examples and stories. If you look but over *Twiss*, we find enough in your native Kingdom of *Scotland*. If we look to your first King *Fingus*, that your stories make mention of, he was an elective King, he died, and left two Sons both in their minority, the Kingdom made choice of their Uncle his Brother to govern in the *minority*; afterwards the elder Brother giving small hopes to the People that he would rule or govern well, seeking to supplant that good Uncle of his that governed them justly, they set the elder aside, and took to the younger. Sir, if I should come to what your stories make mention of, you know very well you are the 10th King of *Scotland*; for to mention to many Kings as that Kingdom according to their power and privilege, have made bold to deal withall, some to banish, and some to imprison, and some to put to death, it would be too long; and as one of your Authors saies, it would be too long to recite the manifold examples that your own stories make mention of; *Kings* (say they) we do create; we created Kings at first; *Leges*, &c. We imposed Laws upon them: and as they are chosen by the suffrages of the people at the first, so upon just occasion, by the same suffrages, they may be taken down again: and we will be bold to say, that no Kingdom hath yielded more plentiful experience then that your Native Kingdom of *Scotland*

and hath done concerning the deposition
of the punishment of their offending and trans-
gressing Kings.

It is not far to go for an example near you
your Grandmother set aside, and your Father in
being crowned, and the Scots did it here in Eng-
land, here hath not been a want of some exam-
ples, they have made bold (the Parliament, and
the people of England) to call their Kings to ac-
count, there are frequent examples of it in the
Saxon time, the time before the Conquest; since
the Conquest, there wants not some Presidents
never, King Edward the second, King Richard
the second, were dealt with so by the Parliament,
as they were deposed and deprived: and truly
who ever shall look into their stories, they
shall not find the Articles that are charged upon
them to come near to that height and capriciousness
of Crimes that are laid to your charge, Nothing
near it.

Sir, You were pleased to say the other day,
wherein they dissent, and I did not contradict it,
but take altogether, Sir, if you were as the Charge
speaks, and no other wise, admitted King of Eng-
land: but for that you were pleased then to al-
ledge, how that almost for a thousand years there
things have been, stories will tell you, if you go
up higher then the time of the Conquest; if you
do come down since the Conquest, you are the
King, from William called the Conqueror, you
shall

shall find one half of them to come meerly from
the State, and not meerly upon the point of Des-
cent; it were easie to be instanced to you, the
time must not be lost that way. And truly Sir,
what a grave and learned Judge in his time, and
well known to you, and is since printed for poster-
ity, *That although there was such a thing as a Des-
cent many times yet the Kings of England ever held
the greatest assurance of their Titles when it was de-
clared by Parliament: And Sir, your Oath, the
manner of your Coronation doth shew plainly,
That the Kings of England, although its true, by
the Law the next person in blood is designed,*
yet if there were just cause to refuse him, the
people of England might do it. For there is a
Contract and Bargain made between the King
and his People, and your Oath is taken, and cer-
tainly Sir, the Bond is reciprocall, for as you ha-
ve the liege Lords so they liege Subjects, and we
know very well that hath been so much spok-
en of, *Ligatus est duplex*. This we know now, the
one is the one Bond, is the bond of perfection,
which is due from the Sovereign, the other is
the bond of Subjection, that is due from the Sub-
ject. Sir, if this Bond be once broken, farewell
Soyeraignty, *Subiectio trahit* &c.

These things may not be denied Sir, I speak it
the rather, and I pray God it may work upon your
heart, that you may be sensible of your miscar-
riages. For whether you have been, as by your

you ought to be a *Protector of England*, or
Defender of England, let all *England* judge,
and all the world that hath looked upon it. Sir,
though you have it by *Inheritance* in the way that
is spoken of, yet it must not be denied that your
Office was an Office of Trust, and an Office of
the highest Trust lodged in any single person;
For as you were the grand *Administrator of Jus-
tice*, and others were as your *Delegates* to see
it done throughout your Realms; if your great
Office were to do Justice, and preserve your Peo-
ple from wrong, and instead of doing that, you
will be the great *wrong-doer your self*; If instead
of being a *Conservator of the Peace*, you will be
the *Grand disturber of the Peace*, surely this is
contrary to your Office, contrary to your Trust.
Now Sir, if it be an Office of *Inheritance*, as you
speak of your Title by *Descent*, let all men know,
that great Offices are seizable and forfeitable, as
if you had it but for a year, and for your life;
Therefore Sir, it will concern you to take into
your serious consideration your great miscarriages
of this kind.

Truly Sir, I shall not particularize the many
miscarriages of your Reign whatsoever, they are
famously known; it had been happy for the
Kingdome, and happy for you too, if it had
not been so much known, and so much felt, as the
Story of your miscarriages must needs be, and hath
been already.

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Sir,

Sir, That that we are now upon by the command of the *highest Court* hath been, and is, to try and judge you for great offences of yours. Sir, the Charge hath called you *Tyrant, a Traytor, a Murderer, and a publick Enemy to the Common wealith of England*. Sir, it had been well, if that any of all these terms might rightly and justly have been spared, if any one of them at all.

King. Ha ?

Lord Presid. Truly Sir, we have been told, *Rex est dum bene regit, Tyrannus qui populum opprimit*; and if so be that be the definition of a *Tyrant*, then see how you come short of it in your Actions, whether the highest *Tyrant* by that way of *Arbitrary Government*, and that you have sought for to introduce, and that you have sought to put, you were putting upon the People, whether that was not as high an Act of Tyranny as any of your Predecessors were guilty of, nay, many degrees beyond it.

Sir, the term *Traytor* cannot be spared, we shall easily agree it must denote and suppose a breach of Trust, and it must suppose it to be done by a Superior; and therefore Sir, as the people of *England* might have incurred that, respecting you, if they had been truly guilty of it, as to the definition of Law; so on the other side, when you did break your Trust to the Kingdom, you did break your trust to your Superior: For the Kingdom is that for which you were trusted: And therefore

Sir, for this breach of Trust when you are called to account, you are called to account by your Superiors. *Minimus ad Majorem in judicium vocat.* And Sir, the People of England cannot be so far wanting to themselves, which God having dealt so miraculously and gloriously for, they having power in their hands, and their great Enemy, they must proceed to do justice to themselves and to you; For, Sir, the Court could heartily desire, That you would lay your hand upon your heart, and consider what you have done amiss, that you whold endeavour to make your peace with God: Truly Sir, These are your high crimes, Tyranny and Treason.

There is a third thing too if those had not been, and that is Murther, which is laid to your charge. All the bloody Murthers that have been committed since this time that the division was betwixt you and your People, must be laid to your charge, that have been acted or committed in these late Wars. Sir, it is an heinous and crying sin; and truly Sir, if any man will ask us what punishment is due to a Murtherer, Let Gods Law, let no mans Law speak. Sir, I will presume that you are so well read in Scripture as to know what God himself hath said concerning the shedding of mans blood: *Gen. 9. Numb. 35.* will tell you what the punishment is, and which this Court in behalf of the Kingdom are sensible of, of that innocent blood that has been shed, whereby indeed the

Land stands still defiled with that blood, and as the Text hath it, *It can no way be cleansed but with the shedding of the blood of him that shed this blood.* Sir, we know no Dispensation from this blood in that Commandement, *Thou shalt do no murther;* we do not know but that it extends to Kings as well as to the meanest Peasants, the meanest of the People; the command is universall. Sir, Gods Law forbids it, Mans Law forbids it, nor do we know that there is any manner of exception, not even in mans Lawes, for the punishment of Murther in you. 'Tis true, that in the case of Kings, every private hand was not to put forth it selfe to this work for their Reformation and punishment: But Sir, the people represented having power in their hands, had there been but one wilfull act of Murther by you committed, had power to have convented you, and to have punished you for it.

But then Sir, the weight that lies upon you in all those respects that have been spoken, hy reason of your *Tyranny, Treason, breach of Trust,* and the Murthers that have been committed, surely Sir, it must drive you into a sad consideration concerning your eternall condition: as I said at first, I know it cannot be pleasing to you to hear any such things as these are mentioned unto you from this Court, for so we do call our selves, and justifie our selves to be a Court, and a *High Court of Justice*, authorized by the highest

at and solemnest Court of the Kingdome,
as we have often said; and although you do yet
endeavour what you may to dis-court us; yet we
do take knowledge of our selves to be such a
Court as can administer Justice to you, and we
are bound, Sir, in duty to do it. Sir, all I shall say
before the reading of your Sentence, it is but this;
The Court does heartily desire, that you will
seriously think of those evils that you stand guilty
of. Sir, you said well to us the other day,
you wisht us to have God before our eyes;
Truly Sir, I hope all of us have so, that God
we know is a King of Kings, and Lord of Lords,
that God with whom there is no respect of
persons, That God that is the avenger of inno-
cent blood, we have that God before us, that
God that does bestow a curse upon them that
withhold their hands from shedding of blood,
which is the case of guilty Malefactors, and
that do deserve death; That God we have be-
fore our eyes, and were it not that the consci-
ence of our duty hath called us unto this place,
and this imployment, Sir, you should have had
no appearance of a Court here: but Sir, we must
prefer the discharge of our duty unto God and
unto the Kingdome, before any other respect
whatsoever. And although at this time many of
us, if not all of us, are severely threatned by
some of your party what they intend to do, Sir,
we do here declare, that we shall not decline or

forbear the doing of our duty in the administration of Justice even to you, according to the merit of your offence, although God should permit those men to effect all *that bloody design* in hand against us. Sir, we will say, and we will declare it, as those Children in the fiery Furnace, that would not worship the golden Image that *Nebuchadnezzar* had set up, *That their God was able to deliver them from that danger that they were neer unto*; but yet if he would not do it, yet, notwithstanding that, they would not fall down and worship the Image: we shall thus apply it, That though we should not be delivered from those bloody hands and hearts that conspire the overthrow of the Kingdom in generall, of us in particular for acting in this great work of Justice, though we should perish in the work, yet by Gods grace, and by Gods strength, we will go on with it: And this is all our Resolutions. Sir, I say for your self, we do heartily wish and desire, that God would be pleased to give you a sense of your sins, that you would see wherein you have done amisse, that you may cry unto him, that God would deliver you from *bloud-guiltinesse*. A good King was once guilty of that particular thing, and was cleared otherwise, saving in the matter of *Uriah*. Truly Sir, the story tels us, that he was a repentant King, and it signifies enough that he had dyed for it, but that God was pleased to accept of him and to give him his pardon,

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thou shalt not die, but the child shall die; thou hast given cause to the enemies of God to blaspheme.

King. I would desire onely one word before you give sentence, and that is, That you would hear me concerning those great imputations that you have laid to my charge.

Lord Presid. Sir, you must give me now leave to go on, for I am not far from your Sentence, and your time is now past.

King. But I shall desire you will hear me a few words to you, for truly what ever Sentence you will put upon me; in respect of those heavy imputations that I see by your speech you have put upon me, Sir, it is very true that---

Lord President. Sir, I must put you in mind; Truly Sir, I would not not willingly, at this time especially, interrupt you in any thing you have to say that is proper for us to admit of; but Sir, you have not owned us as a Court, and you look upon us as a sort of people met together, and we know what Language we receive from your partie.

King. I know nothing of that.

Lord Pres. You dis-avow us as a Court, and therefore for you to addresse your self to us, not to acknowledge us as a Court to judge of what you say, it is not to be permitted; and the truth is, all along from the first time you were pleased to dis-avow and disown us, the Court needed

The Tryall of

not to have heard you one word; for unless they be acknowledged a Court, and engaged, it is not proper for you to speak: Sir, we have given you too much liberty already, and admitted of too much delay, and we may not admit of any further; were it proper for us to do, we should heare you freely, and we should not have declined to have heard you at large, what you could have said or proved on your behalf, whether for totally excusing, or for in part excusing those great and hainous charges that in whole or in part are laid upon you. But Sir, I shall trouble you no longer, your sins are of so large a dimension, that if you do but seriously think of them, they will drive you to a sad *consideration*, and they may improve in you a sad and serious *repentance*. And that the Court doth heartily wish that you may be so *penitent* for what you have done amiss, that God may have mercy at least-wise upon your *better part*. Truly Sir, for the other, it is our parts and duties to doe that that the Law prescribes; we are not here *Fus dare*, but *Fus dicere*; we cannot be unmindfull of what the *Scripture* tells us, *For to acquit the guilty is of equall abomination as to condemn the innocent*, we may not acquit the *guilty*; what *sentence* the Law affirms to a *Traitor*, *Tyrant*, a *Murtherer* and a *publick Enemy* to the *Countrey*, that *sentence* you are now to hear read unto you, and that is the *sentence* of the *Court*.

The

The L. President commands the sentence to be read. Make an O yes, and command silence while the sentence is read.

O yes made, silence commanded.

The Clerk read the sentence, which was drawn up in parchment.

Whereas the Commons of England in Parliament have appointed them an High Court of Justice for the Tryall of Charles Stuart King of England, before whom he had been three times convented, and at the first time a Charge of High Treason, and other Crimes and Misdemeanours was read in the behalf of the Kingdome of England, &c.

Here the Clerk read the Charge.

Which Charge being read unto him as afore-said, he the said Charles Stuart was required to give his Answer, but he refused so to do, and so exprest the severall passages at his Tryall in refusing to answer.

For all which Treasons and Crimes, this Court doth adjudge, That the said Charles Stuart, as a Tyrant, Traitor, Murtherer, and a publick Enemy, shall be put to death, by the severing his Head from his Body.

After the Sentence read, the L. President said, This Sentence now read and published, it is the Act, Sentence, Judgement, and Resolution of the whole Court.

Here the Court stood up, and assented to what the President said.

The

The King. Will you hear me a word Sir?

L. Presid. Sir, you are not to be heard after the sentence.

The King. No Sir?

L. Presid. No Sir, by your favour Sir: Guard, withdraw your Prisoner.

The King. I may speak after sentence---

By your favour, Sir, I may speak after sentence ever.

By your favour (hold) the sentence, Sir---

I say, Sir, I do---

I am not suffered to speak, expect what Justice other people will have.

O yes, All manner of persons that have any thing else to do, are to depart at this time, and to give their attendance in the Painted Chamber, to which place this Court doth forthwith adjourn it self.

Then the Court rose, and the King went with his Guard to Sir Robert Cottons, and from thence to White-Hall.



Other

Other matters relating to the proceeding in the
Trial of CHARLES STUART late King of
England.

Resolutions of the Court in the Painted Chamber.

Luna Jan. 22. 1648

THis day the King being withdrawn from the
Bar of the High Court of Justice, the Com-
missioners of the said Court of High Justice sate
private in the Painted Chamber, and considered
of the Kings carriage upon the Saturday before,
and of all that had then passed, and fully appro-
ved of what the Lord President had done and said
in the managing of the business of that day, as
agreeing to their sense: and perceiving what the
King aimed at, viz. to bring in question (if he
could) the Jurisdiction of the Court, and the
Authority thereof, whereby they sate, and con-
sidering, that in the interim he had not acknow-
ledged them in any sort to be a Court, or his
Judges, and through their sides intended to
wound (if he might be permitted) the Supreme
Authority of the Commons of England in their
Representative the Commons assembled in Par-
liament, after advice with their Council learned
in both Laws, and mature deliberation had of the
matters:

Resolved, that the King should not be suffered
to

The Tryal of
to argue the Courts Jurisdiction, or that which constituted them a Court; of which debate they had not proper cognisance, nor could they being a derivative judge of that Supreme Court which made them Judges, from which there was no appeale, and did therefore order and direct, viz.

Ordered, That in case the King shall again offer to dispute the Authority of the Court, the *Lord President* do let him know, that the Court have taken into consideration his demands of the last day; and that he ought to rest satisfied with this answer, That the *Commons of England assembled in Parliament* have constituted this Court, whose power may not, nor should be permitted to be disputed by him.

That in case the King shall refuse to answer to acknowledge the Court, the *Lord President* do let him know that the Court will take it as a contumacie, and that it shall be so recorded.

That in case he shall offer to answer with a saving notwithstanding of his pretended Prerogative above the Jurisdiction of the Court:

That the *Lord President* do in the name of the Court refuse his protest, and require his positive answer, whether he will own the Court, or not.

That in case the King shall demand a copy of the Charge, that he shall then declare his intention to answer, and that declaring his intention, a copy be granted to him.

That in case the King shall still persist in his contempt, the L. President do give command to the Clerk to demand of the King in the name of the Court, in these words following, viz.

Charles Stuart, King of England, you are accused in the behalf of the people of England of divers high Crimes and Treasons, which Charge hath been read unto you.

The Court requires you to give a positive answer to confess or deny the Charge, having determined that you ought to answer the same.

Sir Hardress Waller, Col. Harrison, Col. Dean, Com. Gen. Ireton, Col. Okey, are appointed to consider of the time and place for the Execution of the King, according to the Sentence given by the High Court of Justice.

Painted Chamber, Lunæ Jan. 29. 1648.

Upon Report made from the Committee for considering of the time and place for the Execution of Judgement against the King, that the said Committee have resolved, that the open street before *White-Hall* is a fit place; and that the said Committee conceive it fit that the King be there executed the morrow. The King having notice thereof, the Court approved thereof, and ordered a Warrant to be drawn for that purpose, and agreed unto; and ordered it to be engrossed. *Painted Chamber.*

30. Jan.

30. Jan. 1648. *The Commissioners met, And*
Ordered, That Mr. Marshall, Mr. Nye, Mr. Caryl,
Mr. Salway, and Mr. Dell, be desired to attend
the King to administer to him those spirituall
helps as should be suitable to his present condi-
tion; and Lieutenant Col. Goff is desired forth-
with to repaire unto them for that purpose.

Who did so, but after informed the Court,
that the King being acquainted therewith, refus-
ed to confer with them, expressing that he would
not be troubled with them.

Ordered, That the Scaffold upon which the
King is to be executed be covered with black.

The warrant for executing the King being ac-
cordingly delivered to those parties to whom the
same was directed, execution was done upon him
according to the tenour of the Warrant, about
two of the clock in the afternoon of the said
Jan. 30.

A true Relation of the Kings Speech to the La-
dy Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester, the
day before His Death.

His Children being come to meet Him, He first
gave His Blessing to the Lady Elizabeth, and
bade her remember to tell her Brother James, when
ever she should see him, that it was his Fathers last
desire that he should no more look upon Charles as his
eldest

eldest Brother only, but be obedient unto him as his
Soveraign; and that they should love one another,
and forgive their Fathers Enemies. Then said the
King to her, Sweet-heart, you'l forget this: No (said
she) I shall never forget it whilest I live; and pour-
ring forth abundance of tears, promised him to write
down the particulars.

Then the King taking the Duke of Gloucester
upon His knee, said, Sweet-heart, now they will cut
off thy Fathers Head (upon which words the child
looked very steadfastly on him) Mark child what I
say, They will cut off My Head, and perhaps make
thee a King: But mark what I say, you must not be
a King, so long as your Brothers, Charles and
James, do live; for they will cut off your Brothers
Heads (when they can catch them) and cut off
thy Head too at last: and therefore I charge you do
not be made a King by them. At which the child
sighing, said, I will be torn in pieces first: which fal-
ling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the
King rejoyce exceedingly.

Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeth's
own Hand.

WHat the King said to me the 29 of Jan. 1648.
being the last time I had the happinesse to
see Him, He told me He was glad I was come,
and although He had not time to say much, yet some-
what He had to say to me which He had not to ano-
ther,

ther, or leave in writing, because he feared that
it was such, as that they would not have
Him to write to me. He wished me not to grieve and
torment my self for Him, for that would be a glori-
ous death that He should die, in being for the Lawes
and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the
true Protestant Religion. He bid me read Bishop An-
drew's Sermons, Hooker's Ecclesiasticall Polity,
and Bishop Laud's Book against Fisher, which would
ground me against Popery. He told me, He had for-
given all His Enemies, and hoped God would for-
give them also; and commanded us, and all the rest
of my Brothers and Sisters, to forgive them. He bid
me tell my Mother, that His thoughts never strayed
from Her, and that His love should be the same to
the last. Withall, He commanded me and my Bro-
ther to be obedient to Her, and bid me send His Bles-
sing to the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, with com-
mendation to all His Friends. So after he had gi-
ven me his blessing I took my leave.

Further, He commanded us all to forgive those peo-
ple, but never to trust them; for they had been most
false to him, and to those that gave them power; and
He feared also, to their own souls: and desired me
not to grieve for Him, for He should die a Martyr,
and that He doubted not but the Lord would settle
His Throne upon His Son, and that we should be all
happier then we could have expected to have been, if
He had lived; with many other things, which at
present I cannot remember.

Elizabeth.

Ano-

Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeth.

THe King said to the Duke of Gloucester, that He would say nothing to him but what was for the good of His soul; He told him, that He heard the Army intended to make him King; but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his soul, for he had two Brothers before him; and therefore commanded him upon his blessing never to accept of it, unless it redounded lawfully upon him; and commanded him to fear the Lord, and he would provide for him.

A copy of a Letter sent from the Prince to the King, dated from the Hague, Jan. 23. 1648.

SIR,

HAVING no means to come to the knowledge of Your Majesties present condition, but such as I receive from the Prints, or (which is as uncertain) Report, I have sent this Bearer Seamour to wait upon Your Majesty, and to bring me an account of it; that I may withall assure Your Majesty, I do not onely pray for Your Majesty according to My Duty, but shall alwayes be ready to do all which shall be in my power, to deserve that blessing which I now humbly beg of Your Majesty, upon

Hague, Jan. 23.

1648.

SIR, Your Majesties most humble and most obedient Son & Servant,

CHARLES.

The Superscription was thus, For the KING.

A a

His

*His MAJESTY'S last Speech on
the Scaffold at White-Hall Gate, immediately
before His Execution, Tuesday, Jan. 30, 1648.*

ABout ten in the morning the King, was brought from S. James's walking on foot through the Park with a Regiment of Foot, part before and part behind him, with Colours flying, Drummes beating, his private Guard of Partizans, with some of his Gentlemen before, and some behind bare-headed, Dr. *Fuxton* next behind him, and Col. *Thomlinson* (who had the charge of him) talking with the King bare-headed from the Park, up the stairs into the Gallery, and so into the *Cabinet Chamber*, where he used to lie, where he continued at his Devotion, refusing to dine (having before taken the *Sacrament*) onely about an hour before he came forth he drank a glasse of Claret Wine, and ate a piece of bread about twelve at noon.

From thence he was accompanied by Doctor *Fuxton*, Col. *Thomlinson*, and other Officers formerly appointed to attend him, and the private Guard of Partizans, with Musketeers on each side, through the Banqueting-house, adjoyning to which the Scaffold was erected, between White-Hall Gate, and the Gate leading into the Gallery from S. James's: The Scaffold was hung round

round with black, and the floor covered with black, and the Ax and Block laid in the middle of the Scaffold. There were divers Companies of Foot, and Troops of Horse placed on the one side of the Scaffold toward *Kings Street*, and on the other side toward *Charing Cross*, and the multitudes of people that came to be spectators very great.

Because we have no other Relation of what His Majesty then spake, save what his Enemies have set forth; nor had his Majesty any copy (being surprized and hastned by those that thirsted after His Blood) save onely a few Heads in a little Scrap of Paper, which the Souldiers took from the Bishop of *London*, to whom He gave it: therefore the Reader must be content with this Copy which they have published (some few words being altered to make the sense perfect, which either wilfully, or by mistake of the Writer or Printer were perverted.)

The King being come upon the Scaffold, and looking about him upon the people, who were kept off by Troops of Horse, so that they could not come near to hear him, omitted what he had purposed to have spoken to them (as 'tis thought) and turning himself to the Souldiers and Officers (the Instruments of the Regicide) spake to them to this effect:

His MAJESTY'S Speech

King. I shall be very little heard of any body here, no doubt. I shall therefore speak a word unto you here: indeed I could hold my peace very well, if I did not think that holding my peace would make some men think that I did submit to the Guilt as well as to the Punishment; but I think it is my duty to God first, and to my Countrey, for to clear my self both as an honest Man, a good King, and a good Christian, I shall begin first with my Innocency: In troth I think it not very needfull for me to insist long upon this, for all the world knows that I never did begin a War with the two Houses of Parliament; and I will call God to witness, to whom I must shortly make an account, that I never did intend to incroach upon their Priviledges: they began upon me; it is the Militia they began upon; they confest that the Militia was mine, but they thought it fit for to have it from me: And to be short, if any body will look upon the dates of Commissions, of their Commissions and mine, and likewise to the Declarations, will see clearly that they began these unhappy Troubles, not I: so that as the guilt of these enormous Crimes that are laid against me, I hope in God that God will clear me of; I will not, I am in charity: God forbid that I should lay it upon the two Houses of Parliament, there is no necessity of either, I hope they are free of this guilt: for I do believe that ill Instruments between them
and

and me, has been the chief cause of all this blood-shed,
so that by way of speaking, as I find myself clear of
this, I hope (and pray God) that they may too: yet for
all this, God forbid that I should be so ill a Christian
as not to say that Gods judgements are just upon me:
Many times he does pay Justice by an unjust Sentence,
that is ordinary, I will onely say this, That an unjust
Sentence * that I suffered for to take effect, * Strafford
is punished now by an unjust Sentence upon me, that
is so for I have said, to shew you that I am an innocent
man.

Now for to shew you that I am a good Christian, I
*Po nting to hope there is * a good man that will bear
Dr Juxon. me witness, That I have forgiven all the
world, and even those in particular that have been the
causers of my death; who they are, God knowes, I do
not desire to know, I pray God forgive them. But this
is not all, my Charity must go farther, I wish that they
may repent, for indeed they have committed a great
sin in that particular: I pray God with St. Stephen,
this be not laid to their Charge, may not onely so, but
that they may take the right way to the Peace of the
Kingdom; for my Charity commands me, not onely to
forgive particular men, but my Charity commands
me to endeavour to the last gasp the Peace
of the Kingdom. So (Sir) I do wish with
all my soul, (and I do hope there is some
will carry it further) that they may en-
deavour the Peace of the Kingdome.

Now (Sirs) I must shew you both how you are out of

the way, and will go on in the way: for you are one
of the way, for certainly all the way you overtake had
yet as I could find by any thing, is in the way of a com-
quest, certainly this is an ill way: for Conquest (which)
in my opinion is never just, except there be a good
just cause: either for matter of wrong or just Title,
and then if you go beyond in the first quarrell, which
you have to it, it is that makes it unjust at the end, which
was just at first: But if it be only matter of Con-
quest, then it is a great Robbery, as a Pirate said to Alex-
ander, that He was the great Robber, he was but a
petty Robber: and so, Sir, I do think the way that you
are in, is much out of the way: Now Sir, for to put you
in the way, believe it you will never do right, nor God
will never prosper you, until you give God his due, &
the King his due (that is, my Successors) and the peo-
ple their due: I am no much for them as any of you are:
You must give God his due by regulating rightly this
Church (according to his Scriptures) which is now out
of order: & so for you in a way particularly (now I
cannot, but only this, A Nationall Synod freely called,
led, freely debating among themselves, must settle
this, when that every Opinion is freely and abso-
lutely heard.

For the King, indeed I will not (then turning to
a Gentleman that touched the Ax, said, hurt not
the Ax, that may hurt me: * For the
King) the Lawes of the Land will clearly
instruct you for that: therefore be-
cause it concerns my own particular, I only give you
a touch of it.

* Meaning if
he did blunt
the edge.

For the people: And truly I desire their Liberty and freedom as much as any body whatsoever, but I must tell you That their Liberty and freedom consist in having of Government, those Lawes, by which their Life and their Goods may be most their own. It is not for having share in Government (Sir) that is nothing pertaining to them: A Subject and a Sovereign are clean different things, and therefore unill they do that, I mean, That you do put the people in that Liberty as I say, certainly they will never enjoy themselves.

Sir, It was for this that now I am come here: If I would have given way to an Arbitrary way, for to have all Lawes changed according to the power of the sword, I needed not to have come here, and therefore I tell you (and I pray God it be not laid to your charge) that I am the Martyr of the people.

In truth Sir, I shall not hold you much longer, for I will onely say this to you, That in truth I could have desired some little time longer, because I would have put this that I have said in a little more order, and a little better digested then I have done, and therefore I hope you will excuse me.

I have delivered my Conscience, I pray God that you do take those courses that are best for the good of the Kingdom and your own salvations.

Dr. Fuxton. Will your Majesty (though it may be very well known your Majesties affections to Religion, yet it may be expected that you should) say somewhat for the worlds satisfaction?

King. I thank you very heartily (my Lord) for what I had almost forgotten: In truth Sir, My Conscience in Religion I think is very well known to all the World: and therefore I declare before you all, That I die a Christian, according to the profession of the Church of England, as I found it left me by my Father, and this honest man I think will witness it. Then turning to the Officers said: Sir, excuse me for this space, I have a good cause, and I have a gracious God, I will say no more. Then turning to Colonel Hacker, he said, Take care they do not put me to pain, and for this, and it please you: But then a Gentleman coming near the Ax, the King said, Take heed of the Ax, pray take heed of the Ax; then the King to the Executioner said, I shall say but very short Prayers, and when I thrust out my hands:--- Then the King called to Doctor Fuxton for his Night cap, and having put it on, he said to the Executioner, Does my hair trouble you? who desired him to put it all under his Cap, which the King did accordingly by the help of the Executioner and the Bishop: Then the king turning to Dr. Fuxton, said, I have a good Cause and a gracious God on my side.

Doctor Fuxton. There is but one Stage more. This Stage is turbulent and troublesome; it is a short one: But you may consider, it will soon carry you a very great way: it will carry you from earth to heaven; and there you shall find

And a great deal of comfort
King. Oge from a corruptible
Crown where no disturbance can be, no disturbance in
the world.

Dr. next. You are exchanged from a Tem-
poral to an Eternal Crown, a good exchange.

The King then said to the Executioner, is my
hair well? Then the King took off His Cloak and
his George, giving his George to Doctor Iuxon,

saying, Remember * --- Then the King put off
his Doublet, and being in his Waist-
coat, put his Cloak on again, then
looked upon the block, said to the Ex-

ecutioner, You must set it fast

Executioner. It is fast Sir,

King. When I put my hands out this way, stretching
them out, Then ---

After that having said two or three words (as he
stood) to himself, with hands and eyes lift up, Im-
mediately stooping down, laid his neck upon the
block. And then the executioner again putting his
hair under his Cap, the King said (thinking he had
been going to strike) stay for the sign.

Executioner. Yes I will & it please your Majesty.

And after a very little pause, the King stretch-
ing forth his hands, The Executioner at one blow
severed his head from his body; the head being
off, the Executioner held it up, and shewed
it to the people, which done, it was with the Bo-
dy put in a coffin covered with black Velvet for

that

His Majesties Speech, &c.

that purpose, and conveyed into his Lodging
there. And from thence it was carried to his house
at St. Dunstons, where his body was put into a Coffin
of Lead, laid there to be seen by the people,
and about a fortnight after it was carried to Windsor,
accompanied with the Duke of Lennox, the
Marquess of Hertford, and the Earle of Southampton,
and Doctor Juxon, Bishop of London, and others,
and interred in the Chappel Royall in the Vault with King Henry the eighth, having
only this Inscription upon his Coffin.

HENRY THE EIGHTH KING OF ENGLAND

Sic occidit Carolus, sic universa sunt Britanni.
I have fought a good fight, I have finished my
course, I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for
me a crown of righteousness, &c.

And the breath of our nostrils, the Anointed of the
Lord was taken in their pits, of whom we said, Under
his shadow we shall live among the Heathen.

CHAP. 5. 15, 16, 17.
The joy of our heart is ceased, our dance is turned
into mourning. The Crown is fallen from our Head, we unto us
that have sinned. For this our heart is faint, for these things our eyes
are dim.

Some

Of this that Stately Cedar, while it stood;
That was the onely Glory of the Woods;
Great Cedar was, thou earthly God; Celestiall
Man, yet mortall; ed by Mortall hand; but I to thee
Whose life, like others, though it were a Span;
Yet in that Span was comprehended more
Then Earth hath waters, or the Ocean shore;
Thy heavenly Vertues Angels should rehearse,
It is a Theme too high for humane Verse;
He that would know Thee right then, let him look
Upon thy rare incomparable Book;
And read it o're and o're, which if he do,
He'll find thee King, and Priest, and Prophet too;
And sadly see our losse; and, though in vain,
With fruitlesse wishes call thee back again.
Nor shall Oblivion sit upon Thy Hearse,
Though there were neither Monument nor
Verse.

Thy sufferings and Thy Death let no man
gaine name;
It was Thy Glory, but the Kingdoms Shame.



The

A Speech made in Latin by Dr. Lotius, to King CHARLES the II. in the name of the Consistory of Hague, and in the presence of the rest of the Ministers of that Church, upon the death of King CHARLES the I. 7. Calend. Martii, 1649.

Now rendred into English.

Most gracious King,

IT hath pleased God, the Supreme Judge and Moderator of all things, to give a sore wound to Your MAJESTIES *Most Renowned Family*: With the sense whereof we likewise being deeply touched, are here present, that if the great Comforter shall minister any word of consolation, we may pour it forth into your MAJESTIES bosome.

A main portion of comfort, and (with that) of patience is oft-times lost unto us, when, being too intent upon instrumentall and second Causes, we do not consider (as behoves) the wounding hand of GOD. We are none of those (*Most gracious KING*) who would any way excuse them whose *Horrible Villany* is the cause of so deep a sorrow. *God forbid! God forbid!*

For we publish and declare in the presence of our GOD, whom we serve in spirit, that we do detest from our souls that *never till now heard of Parricide*, that execrable Butchery of the SA-

CRED

CREED AND ANOINTED HEAD; and that eternally to be lamented Murderer of the ONLY KING of the Reformed Religion. And why none. When as this *cursed and sacrilegious wickedness* does directly fight against God, by whom *Kings reign*, against his Word revealed in Scripture, where He, who is *King of Kings*, wills and commands us to give to *Cesar the things which are Cæsars*: Yea, and which does the highest affront that can be to *Reason, Humanity, and the common society of Subjects*; and (in a word) shews what it is to be an *Independent*.

Most Renowned King, our desire is, That the judgements of God be adored and approved of, which, however they may be *irksome* unto us, and oft-times *secret*, yet they are alwayes *just*. Among which, these are especially to be numbred, viz. when God trieth and exerciseth the *Righteous* by the *wicked*, and is pleased that *his own* should groan under the pleasure of *Strangers*: (For we do not acknowledge them to be *ENGLISHMEN*, who do rise up against the lawfull *KING OF ENGLAND*.) Which yet, that it is frequent and usuall, there is no need we should fetch proofs for it out of the holy Writ of the *Old and New Testament*; when as the heavy affliction which is upon your *MAJESTIES Most Renowned Family*, is an abundant testimony and document; Where there is nothing left for us Christians, but to cry out and ingeminate it with the

the Kingly Prophet, *Lord opened not my mouth,
for thou hast it,* to look up to the chastising right
hand of God, to *possess the soul in patience,* to
commend *his own Cause* and the defence thereof
to the *Almighty Avenger*; yea, and moreover to
intercede with God for our Enemies, as the Roy-
all soul of your MAJESTIES Most renowned Fa-
ther, who is now happy in and with his Christ, has
led the way, after the Example of our Saviour,
and the Protomartyr S. Stephen: That they tur-
ning to the LORD our God may seriously re-
pent, and confessing this their great wickednesse
unto him, and beseeching pardon for the same,
may likewise return to their Liege-Lord, as also
to their Loyalty and due obedience. Which
thing we conceive to be the most excellent
and compendious way to true consolation.
Which consolation shall then at length exercise
its full vigour, when our will shall have submitted
it self to the Supreme will of GOD, and have evi-
denced actually and indeed, that we have not in
vain, or less diligently, so often cryed aloud unto
GOD, *Thy will be done.*

We further commend to Your Sacred MA-
JESTY the defence and patronage of the Refor-
med Religion, whose very safe guard or Sanctu-
ry in England, He (that Most Religious KING)
who now triumphs among the blessed, did declare to
the World at the point of death, to rest in the Ca-
non of a Nationall Synod*. Which truly we can in

* See the Kings Speech on the Scaffold.

we *wise deny*. Which Religion we do earnestly
beseech, that your Majesty would preserve
safe and entire.

For the rest, we do, and ever will pray unto
the most high God, to endue Your Majesty
with his heavenly Spirit, and to furnish you
with saving Counsels, and faithfull Counsellours;
to grant you patience, to establish Your Throne;
and so to restore Your whole Most Illu-
strious Family to their full Rights;
and in the mean while to comfort them.

The Father of Mercies, and of all Consola-
tion, grant this in Jesus CHRIST by his holy
Spirit. Amen.

Monumentum Regale :

SEVERAL ELEGIES

ON
That most Religious and Blessed Prince,
King CHARLES the I.

To Maxima Palmyrena:



. ELEGIE I.

I Come, but come with trembling, lest I prove
Th' unequall Greet of *Semele* and *Fove*.
As *She* was too *obscure*, and *He* too *bright*,
My *Theme's* too heavy, and my *Pen* too *light*.
And whilst, like *Midas*, I presume to sit
In *wife Apollo's Chair*, without *HIS* wit,
Is it not just, t'expect, that *He* who dares
Higher than *Midas*, should wear longer *Ears*?
May not I fear *Patroclus Fate*, and feel
The dangerous honour of *Achilles steel*?
Just like that *busie elf*, whose vent'rous *Pride*
Found none but *TitanTitan's Coach* could guide;
Why,

Him, whom the great liberty of *England*
 Wants room to hold, and whole *universe* Name
 Is big enough to fill the *Troop* of *fame* *clām* o' *T*
An Individual species: like the *Sun*, *one* o' *T*
 At once a *multitude*, and yet but *one*: *one* *is* *it*
 One of such vast Importance, that He fell *as* *A*)
 The *Festivall* of *Heav'n*, and *England's Hell*: *T*
 One, who for eminence was these two things, *as* *A*
 * The *last* of *Christians*, and the *first* of *Kings*: *and*
 One so diffusive, that he liv'd to all, *and* *one* *is* *it*
 And One that dy'd the whole world's *Funeral*: *T*
 For *Charles* being thus *dismounted*, and the *Squire*
High-shoo'd Bootes leapt into the *Wain*, *and* *one* *is* *it*
 Is not old *Beldame Nature* truly said *as* *one* *is* *it*
 T'advance her *Heeles* and stand upon her *Head*:
 Does not the *Judge*, and *Law* too for a need,
 The *Stirrop* hold, whilst *Treason* mounts the *Steed*?
 Is not *God's Word*, and *Providence* besides, *and* *one* *is* *it*
 Us'd as a *Lucquay* whilst the *white Devil* rides? *T*
 Sure all things thus into *Confusion* hurld *as* *one* *is* *it*
 Make, though an *universe*, yet not a *World*: *as* *one* *is* *it*
 And so our *Soveraign's*, like our *Saviours Passion*,
 Becomes a kind of *Doomsday* to the *Nation*. *as* *one* *is* *it*
 If dead men did not walk, 't would be admir'd
 (The *Breath* of all our *Nostrils* thus expired) *as* *one* *is* *it*
 What 'tis that gives us *motion*. And can I *woh*
 Who want my self, write Him an *Elegie* *as* *one* *is* *it*
 Though *Virgil* turn'd *Evangelist*, and wrote,

De Catone vetus dicto, ultimus Romanorum, Primus Humanum.

How each Intelligent his Orb had mov'd, how
 Wise Charles like them, like Steering at two Helms,
 King of himself, but Father of his Realm did no
 And just as if old Trismegistus Cup did look
 Had by his thirsty Soul been all drunk up,
 His understanding did begut this All,
 As were Ecliptick or Meridionall,
 Suppose a Dice of all Christian Kings
 And Bishops too, conven'd to weigh the things
 Of Church and State, may adde Inferiour men,
 Those of the Sword, the pensil, and the pen,
 From th' Scepter to the Sheep-book, Charles in all
 Must have been *Umpire Occubriticall*,
 He liv'd a Perpendicular, The Thread
 His wisdom was, Humility the Lead,
 By which he measur'd Men and things, took aim
 At actions crooked, and at actions plain.
 He and all from him into Cubes did fall,
 And yet as perfect as the Circle, all.
 'Twas he took Natures Breath, and Depth, & Height,
 Knew the just difference twixt Wrong and Right;
 He saw the poines of things, could justly hit
 What must be done, what may, whats just, what fit:
 As if, like Moses, he had had resort
 Unto Gods Councell, ere he was of's Court.
 Hence his Religion was his choyce, not Fate,
 Rul'd by Gods word, not Interest of State.
 Others may thank their stars, He his inquest,
 Who, sounding all sides, anchor'd in the best.
 His Crown contain'd a Mitre, He did twist

Moses and Aaron, King and Casuist.
 When the Mahumetan or Pope shall looke
 On his Soul's best Interpreter, his Book,
 His Book, his Life, his Death will henceforth be
 The Church of England's best Apology.

Thus Dove and Serpent kiss'd, as if they meant
 To render him as wise, so innocent.
 His own good Genius knew not, whether were
 His Heart more single, or his Head more clear,
 Virtue was his prerogative, and thus
 Charles rul'd the King, before the King rul'd us.
 He knew, that to command, his onely way
 Was first to teach his Passions to obey:
 And his incessant waiting on God's Throne
 Gave him such meek reflexions on his own,
 That, being forc't to censures, he express'd
 A Judges office with a Mothers breast.
 And when some sturdy violence began
 T'unsheath his sword, unwilling to be drawn,
 He but destroy'd (and so soft mercy can)
 The malefactor, to preserve the Man.
 Even hell's blind Journey-men, those Sons of Night,
 Who look on scarlet murder, and think it white,
 Unwillingly confess'd, the onely thing
 Which made him guilty, was, That he was King.
 He was Incarnate Justice, and tis said,
 Astraea liv'd in him, yet dy'd a Maid.
 We want an Emblem for him: Phœbus must
 Stand still in Libra, to speak Charles the Just.
 And yet though he were such, that nothing less

Then

Then *Virtu's mean* stretcht to a just *Excesse*,
 Flew from his soul; He, like the *sun*, was known
 To see all excellence except his own;
 His Modesty was such, that All which he
 'Ere spake or thought of self, was Calumny;
 But yet so mixt with state, that one might see
 It made him not lesse Kingly, but more free.
 He was not like those *Princes*, who repress
 A learned *stiffest*, a sublime *excesse*,
 Send to dispeople all the *Sea* of Fish,
 Depopulate the *Aire* to make one dish,
 (Such skilfull luxuries as onely serve
 To make their minds more plentifully sterve)
 Whatever Dainties fill'd his Board by chance,
 His onely constant dish was (a) *Temperance*:
 His vertue did so limit him, his Court
 Impli'd his *Cloyster*, and his very sport
 Was self-deniall. Nay, though he were seen
 So rob'd in purple, and so match't to a *Queen*,
 As made him glitter like a *Neon-day Sun*,
 Yet still his soul wore sackcloth, and liv'd *Num*.
 (b) *Simeon* the *Stylite* in his Pillar pent
 Might live more strict, but not more innocent.
 So wise, so just, so good, so great and all,
 What is't could set him higher but his fall.

(a) *Evagr. l. 1. c. 21. de Monachis quibusdam, ex θεοις ὡς*
ἰδιον βελήσαν, καὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐκδοτοί, καὶ ὑπερβαίνοντες ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ
τρέποντες διαπορῶν, τὸ μὲν δὲν (ἰστορεῖ) ἀπορῶντες. (b) Evagr.
l. 1. c. 13. ὁ εὐσεβὴς αὐγυστίνος ἐξ ἑρμῶν, ὁ δὲ σαγχι τῆς ἀνο
μωσύνης ποιεῖται.

When he caught up by a British Train, and
Began his second and wicked Journey, mid way
How to that Heaven did this Pilgrimage bring
Twixt the Independent, and the Presbyterian
Plac'd in the confines of two Shipwrecks
The English are seated twixt the Turk and Jew
Whom did Byzantium free, Rome would condemn
And freed from Rome, they are enslav'd by them
So plac'd betwixt a Precipice and Wolf, a wonder
There the Aegean, here the Venetian Gulf
What with the rising and the setting Sun,
By these they are hatch'd, and by those hatch'd
Thus virtuous Demetrius with wiles, as though either
Solicites her consent, she yields to neither
Nay thus our Saviour, to inhance his grief
Was hung betwixt a Murderer and a Thief

Now Charles as King, and as a good King
Being Christs adopted self, was both to do
And suffer like him, both to live and die,
So much more humble, as he was more high
Then his own Subjects. He was thus to tread
In the same foot steps, and submit his Head
To the same thorns, when spit upon, and beat
To make his Conscience serve for his retreat
And overcome by suffering, to take up
His Saviours Crosse, and pledge him in his Cup
Since then our Sovereign, by just account,
Lived o're our Saviours Sermon in the Mount
And did all Christian Precepts to reduce,
That's Life the Doctrine was, his Death the Use

Poste-

Posterity will say he should have dy'd
 No other Death, than by being crucify'd
 And their renowned Spouse will be
 Great Charles his Death, next Christ's Nativity.
 Thus a sect is grown most Orthodox, who since
 They said they'd make him the most glorious Prince
 In all the Christian world, 'Tis plain, this way
 They only promis'd what they meant to pay.
 For now (besides that beautiful Vision
 Where all desire is left into fruition)
 The stones they hurled at him with intent
 To crush his fame, have prov'd his monument.
 Their Libels his best Obelisks; To have
 A fit Mausole, were to want a Grave,
 His Scaffold, like mount Calvar, will in story
 Become the proudest Theatre of all Glory,
 Next to the blessed Cross; and thus 'tis sense,
 T'affirm him murder'd in his own Defence.
 For though all Hells, Artillery and skill
 Combin'd together to besiege his Will;
 And when their malice could not bring't about
 To hurt God's Image, they rais'd Adam's out,
 (Like men repuls'd, whose Choler thinks it werry
 To burn the suburbs when they can't the City)
 How're they storm'd his walls, & drain'd his blood,
 Which mov'd not his Soul, yet still he stood
 Defender of the Faith, (and that which He
 Found sweeter then revenge) his Charity.

This then the utmost was their rage could do,
 [To shew him King of his afflictions too.]

Untempted Vertue is but coldly good,
(As she's scarce chaste that's too bar in cold blood)
To scorn base Quarter is the best escape,
(As Lucrece dy'd the chaster for her rape)
These too did Charles his Vertue most befriended
His glorious hardships first, and then his end.
Death we forgive thee; and thy Bourreau too;
Since that did seem thy rape, proves but his due.
For how could he be said to fall too soon,
Whose green was mellow, & whose dawn was noon?
Since Charles was only by thy courteous knife,
Redeem'd from this great injury of life
To one so lasting, that tis truly said
Not He, but his mortality is dead.
To weep his Death's the treason of our eyes;
Our Sun did onely see that he might rise.

But we do mock, not cheat our grief, and sit
Onely at best t'upbraid our selves in wit,
And want him learnedly. Such colour do
Disguise disasters, not delude them too;
For though, I must confess, a Poet can
Fancy things better than another man,
He can but fancy 'um; and all his pains
Is but to fill his belly with his brain.
He may both petrify'd and famish sit,
That weans his thought, and onely dines on wit.
Were I a Polypus, and could go on
To be those very things I think upon,
I would not then complain; but since I know

To call things by their names, is to call them as they are,
Great Charles is dead: and say we what we will,
Yet we shall find Judgements are Judgements still.
For though 'tis true, that his new immense Soul
Doth hold commensuration with each Pole,
Though he doth shine a Star more far & brighter
Then where the year makes but one day & night;
And, lest he fill the Zodiac, doth appear
Not in the eighth but Empyrean Sphere;
Yet we his rise may our descension call,
As Libra's mounting is, poor Aries fall.
He was the onely Moses that could stand
Betwixt the firs and judgements of the Land;
And what can we expect, our Lot being gone,
But that a Hel from Heaven should rumble down
On our more sinfull Sodom? (unlesse we
Are damn'd yet worse to an impunity)
Kings are Gods once remov'd: It hence appears
No Court but Heav'n can try them by their Peers;
So that for Charles the Good to have been try'd
And cast by mortal Votes, was Decide;
No sin, except the first, hath ever past
So black as this; no Judgement, but the last.
How does our Delos, which so lately stood
Unmov'd, lie floating in her Pilots blood?
And can we hope to Anchor, who discern
Nought but the Tempest ruling at the Stern;
Whilest Pluto's Rival, with his Saints by's side,
Drawn by the spirit of avarice and pride,
Being

[illegible]

'Twixt those Egyptian judgements and our mine,
Those were but *minors*; but the *fact* doth tell
That these our *minors* are the *Root* of *Hell*;
Pansani and *Phosphorus* will look
Like *eyes* *under* a *Wine* in *Time* *black* *book*;
The *Spanish* *Flax* and *Peony* *plow* will *lack*;
Then *all* *minors* in our *Almanack*;

--- Nay, which is more (r) *Alurien* his name
Will scarce be known, I th' *Leaves of fame*,
When *Cromwell* shall be read: *Nay* was not
So blessedly *reformed*, since *Luifer*

O for a *Farmacy* to lament our woe
From whence such *miraclick* *liberaclick* might flow,
As should *bathm* our misery, and *dresse*
Our *forrow* with a *dreadful* *gambinisse*!
For next those *harrowing* judgments, which the fall
Of one so *great*, so *good*, makes *mercicall*,

(c) Socrat. l. 7. c. 10, ubi Alarichi responsum recitat. x. xv. b. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834.

(And

And turning down the flood
(Should aid and not hinder)
I have not seen the like
I have not seen the like
I have not seen the like

Were not my Faith baby'd up by sacred
blood,

It might be drown'd in this prodigious flood,

Which reasons highest ground doth so exceed,

It leaves my soul no Anchorage but my Creed,

Where my Faith resting on th' Original,

Supports it self in this the Copies fall,

So while my Faith floats on that bloody wood,

My reason's cast away in this Red flood,

Which more o'reflows us all: Those showers past

Made but Land-floods, which did some vallies

wast,

This stroke hath cut the onely neck of land

Which between us and this Red sea did stand,

That covers now our world, which cursed lies

At once with two of Egypt's prodigies;

O're-cast with darkness, & with blood o're-run,

And justly, since our hearts have theirs out-done;

The inchanter led them to a less-known ill,

To aet his sin, then 'twas their King to kill,

Which crime hath widowed our whole Nation,

Volded all Forms, left but privation

In Church and State, inverting ev'ry right,

Brought in Hells State of fire without light.

No wonder then, if all good eyes look red,

Washing their Loyal hearts from blood so shed;

The which deserves each pore should turn an eye,

To

To weep out even a bloody *Agony*,
 Let nought then pass for *Musick* but sad cries;
 For *Brandy* bloodless cheeks, & blood-shot eyes,
 All colours soile, but black; all odours have
 Ill sent, but *Myrrour* incens'd upon this *Grave*.
 It notes a *Few*, not to believe as much
 The cleaner made by a religious touch
 Of this *Dead Body*, whom to judge to die,
 Seems the *Judaicall impiety*.
 To kill the *King*, the *Spirit Legion* paints
 His rage with *Law*, the *Temple* and the *Saints*:
 But the truth is, He fear'd, and did repine,
 To be cast out, and back into the *Swine*:
 And the case holds, in that the *Spirit* bends
 His malice in this *Act* against his ends;
 For it is like, the sooner hee'l be sent
 Out of that body he would still torment.
 Let *Christians* then use otherwise this blood,
 Detest the *Act*, yet turn it to their good;
 Thinking how like a *King of death* He dies,
 We easily may the world and death despise:
 Death had no sting for him, and its sharp arm,
 Onely of all the troop, meant him no harm.
 And so he look'd upon the *Ax*, as one
 Weapon yet left to guard Him to His *Throne*.
 In His great Name then may his Subjects cry,
Death thou art swallowed up in Victory.
 If this our loss a comfort can admit,
 'Tis that his narrowed *Crown* is grown unfis
 For his enlarged *Head*, since his distress

Had

Elegie upon the death of Sec.

Had greatned this, as it made that the less;
His *Crown* was falln into too low a thing,
For him, who was become so great a King;
So the same hands enthron'd him in that *Crown*,
They had exalted from him, not pull'd down:
And thus Gods wrath by them hath rendred
more

Then ere mens fallhood promis'd to restore;
Which, since by death alone he could attain,
Was yet exempt from weakness, and from pain;
Death was enjoy'd by God, to touch a part
Might make his passage quick, ne'te move his
heart.

Which ev'n expiring, was so far from death,
It seem'd but to command away his breath,
And thus his *soul*, of this her triumph proud,
Broke, like a flash of lightning, through the cloud
Of flesh and blood; and from the highest line
Of humane virtue, pass'd to be divine,
Nor is't much less his virtues to relate,
Then the high glories of his present state;
Since both then pass all Acts, but of belief,
Silence may praise the one, the other grieve,
And since, upon the Diamond, no less
Than Diamonds will serve us to impress,
He onely wish, that for his Elegie,
This our *Josias* had a *Jeremie*.



AN EPI TAPH.

Within this sacred Vault doth lie
 The Quintessence of MAJESTY,
 Which being set, more glorious shines:
 The best of **KINGS**, best of Divines,
 Britains shame, and Britains glory,
 Mirtour of Princes, complete Story
 Of **ROYALTY**; one so exact,
 That th' *Elixirs* of praise detract:
 These are faine shadows, but t' endure,
 He's drawn to th' life in's **PORTRAITURE**:
 If such another Piece you'd see,
 Angels must limn it out, or He
 Where Wisdom, Grace, and Eloquence,
 Are centred in their eminence.
 Martyr'd he was to save his Laws,
 Religion, People, from the Laws
 Of **ASSASINES**; whose weal he sought,
 Even then when they His Murder wrought
 With horrid plots, that headless He
 (And in him Church and State) might be,
 Then since Correlatives they were,
 Three Kingdomes in one **KING** lie here.

ORA ET ABI.

THE END.

E. P. T. A. P. H.

Within this sacred Vault doth lie
 The Queen of Majesty,
 Which being set, more glorious shines,
 The best of Kings, best of Divines,
 Britain's shame, and Britain's glory,
 Mirror of Princes, complete Story
 Of Royalty; one to exalt,
 That in a law of praise befall:
 These are faint images, but I endure
 He's drawn to the life in's portrait here:
 It such another Piece you'd see,
 Angels must turn it out on He.
 Where Wisdom, Grace, and eloquence,
 Are centred in their eminence.
 Martyr'd he was to save his Laws,
 Religion, People, from the jaws
 Of Assassins: whose woe he sought
 Even then when they his Murder wrought
 With boundless plots, that headless He,
 (And in him Church and State) might be,
 Then since Correlatives they were,
 These Kingdoms in one King lie here.

O R A T O R I A L.

THE END.

A Table of the Contents.

I.

Several Speeches delivered by His Majesty to the two Houses at Westminster, and at other places since the beginning of this Parliament.

TO both Houses at their first meeting, *Nov. 3. 1640.* p. 1

2 To the House of Lords, *Nov. 5. 1640.* p. 3

3 To both Houses at the Banqueting-House in White-Hall, *Jan. 25. 1640.* p. 5

4 To both Houses, in answer to a Remonstrance about Papists, &c. *Feb. 3. 1640.* p. 7

5 At the passing of the Bill for a Triennial Parliament. *Feb. 15. 1640.* p. 8

6 To both Houses in the Banqueting-House, about disbanding the Armies in Ireland and England, &c. *April. 28. 1641.* p. 9

7 To the Lords, before the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford, *May 1. 1641.* p. 10

8 To both Houses, at the passing of the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, *June 22. 1641.* p. 12

9 To both Houses, at the passing of the Bills for raking away the Star-chamber, &c. *July 5. 1641.* p. 13

10 To the Scotch Parliament, at *Edenborough, Aug. 1. 1641.* p. 15

11 To both Houses, after His return from Scotland, *Dec. 2. 1641.* p. 16

12 To both Houses about Ireland, and the Bill for pressing of Souldiers, *Dec. 14. 1641.* p. 17

13 In the House of Commons about the five Members, *Jan. 4. 1641.* p. 19

14 At Guild-Hall about the five Members, *Jan. 5. 1641.* p. 20

15 At Theobalds, at the delivery of the Petition for the Militia, *March 1. 1641.* p. 20

16 At Newmarket, to the Earls of Holland, Pembroke, and the rest of the Committee, &c. *March 9. 1641.* p. 21

Some passages as happened the ninth of march, &c. p. 23

With his Majesties Answ. Ibid.

17 To the Sheriff, Ministers, Gentry, &c. of *Torkshire*, when they presented, &c. *April. 5. 1642.* p. 25

18 To the Gentry of *Torkshire*, attending his majesty at *Tork*, *May 12. 1642.* p. 26

19 To the Knights, Gentlemen, and Freeholders of the County of *Notting.* at *Newark*, *July 4. 1642.* p. 28

20 To the Knights, Gentlemen, and Freeholders of the County of *Lincoln*, &c. *July 15. 1642.* p. 29

C c

21 To

A Table of the Contents.

21 To the Gentlemen and inhabitants of Leicester, at Leicester, July 20. 1642.	p. 31	28 His majesties Speech and protestation before he received the holy Eucharist at Christ church, in Oxford, 1643.	p. 47
22 To the Gentlemen of York shire, Aug. 4. 1642.	p. 33	29 To the Members of both Houses at Oxford, Feb. 7. 1643.	p. 47
23 His majesties Speech and protestation in the head of his Army, between Stafford and Wellington, after the reading of his Orders, Sept. 16. 1642.	p. 36	30 To the Lords and Commons assembled at Oxford, at the Re-cess, April 16. 1644.	p. 48
24 To the inhabitants of Denby and Flint, at Wrexham, Sept. 27. 1642.	p. 38	31 At the delivery of the Votes for a personal Treaty at Carisbrook Castle, Aug. 7. 1648.	p. 51
25 To the Gentlemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of Salop, at Shrewsbury, Sept. 28. 1642.	p. 41	32 To the Commissioners at the close of the Treaty at Newport, Nov. 4. 1648.	p. 53
26 To the Clergy, Gentlemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the County of Oxon, at Oxford, Nov. 2. 1642.	p. 43	33 His Majesties farewell Speech to the Commissioners at Newport, Nov. 1648.	p. 54
27 To the Members of both Houses assembled at Oxford, Jan. 22. 1643.	p. 44	His majesties last Speech at his Martyrdom, is at the end of the book, among other things relating to his death.	p. 90

II.

His Majesties Messages for Peace.

His majesties messages for Peace sent to the two Houses, before & since the breaking out of this war, whereof onely 21 were formerly printed together, to which all the rest are now added: with two Declarations written by his majesty during his imprisonment at the Isle of Wight.

1. His majesties Message of Jan. 20. 1641. for composing of all differences.

p. 59

2. The Mess. of march 15. 1641. from Huntington, upon his remo-

val to York, in pursuance of the former.

p. 61

3 The message from Nottingham when he set up his Standard, Aug. 25. 1642.

p. 63

4 The message of Sept. 5. 1642. in pursuance of the former.

p. 65

5 The message and reply to the Answer of both houses, Sept. 11. 1643.

p. 66

6 The message of Nov. 12. 1642. from Brainsford, after the defeat of the Parliaments forces at

Edge-

A Table of the Contents.

- Edge-Hill, And at Brainsford, p. 67
- 7 The message of Nov. 18. 1643. containing his reply to the answer of both houses. p. 69
- 8 The message of March 3. 1643. for a treaty from Oxford. p. 72
- 9 The message of April 12. 1643. from Oxf. after the end of the treaty, for disbanding all forces, and his return to the Parl. p. 73
- 10 The message of May 19. 1643. in pursuance of the former, Oxf. p. 76
- 11 The message of July 4. 1643. from Evesham, after the defeat of Waller at Cropredy-bridge. p. 78
- 12 The message of Sept. 8. 1644. from Tavesstock, after the defeat of the E. of Essex at Bessithiel. p. 78
- 13 The message of Dec. 5. 1645. for a safe conduct for some persons of honour, &c. from Oxf. p. 79
- 14 The message of Dec. 15. 1649. in pursuance of the former, Oxf. p. 80
- 15 The mess. of Dec. 15. 1645. for a treaty, Oxf. p. 81
- 16 The mess. of Dec. 29. 1645. in pursuance, &c. p. 84
- 17 The mess. of Jan. 15. 1645. in pursuance, &c. containing his Majesties concessions and offers. p. 85
- 18 The mess. of Jan. 17. 1645. for an answer to his former messages, Oxf. p. 88
- 19 The mess. of Jan. 17. 1645. for answer to his last, and concerning the reasons against a personal treaty, Oxf. p. 89
- 20 The mess. of Jan. 29. 1645. about Ireland, and his majesties further concessions and desire of a personal treaty, Oxf. p. 93
- 21 The mess. of Feb. 26. 1645. for an answer to the last, Oxf. p. 98
- 22 The mess. of March 23. 1645. for his majesties coming up to Lon. &c. Oxf. p. 99
- 23 The mess. of May 18. 1646. from Southwell, contain. his majesties further concess. &c. p. 100
- 24 The mess. of June 10. 1646. from Newcastle. for Pr. of peace, &c. a Letter to the Gov. of his Gar. p. 103
- 25 The mess. of Aug. 1. 1646. from Newcastle, for a personall Treaty at or near Lond. &c. p. 106
- 26 The Mess. of Aug. 10. 1646. with a gen. answer to the Prop. and his desire to treat, &c. p. 108
- * This message is the same with the former, which by a mistake of the date in some printed copies, was taken for a different message.
- 27 The mess. of Dec. 20. 1646. from Newcastle, for a treaty, &c. upon the faith of the two houses p. 110
- 28 The mess. of Feb. 17. 1646. from Holmby, concerning his Chaplains. p. 112
- 29 The mess. of March 6. 1646. from Holmby, in pursuance of the former. p. 113
- 30 The mess. of May 12. 1647. from Holmby, with his answer in particular to the Propositions. p. 115
- 31 The mess. of Sept. 9. 1647. from Hamp. Court, with his ans. to the Propositions, &c. p. 121

32 The mess. of Nov. 23. 1647
 sent on his majesties cable at
 Whitby Court. p.123
 33 The Mess. of Nov. 17. 1647
 for a per. Treaty, with his parti-
 cular concessions, &c. p.125.
 34 The mess. of Dec. 6. 1647. from
 Carisbrook Castle, for an answer to
 his last. p.132
 35 The mess. and answer to the
 4 Bills, and the Propos. presented at
 Carisbrook Castle, before the Votes
 of No addresse. Dec. 28. 1647. p.134
 36 The mess. of Aug. 10. 1648.
 with his majesties an. to the Votes
 for a treaty at the Isle of Wight,
 from Carisbrook Castle. p.137
 37 The message of Aug. 28. 1648
 for some of his Council and o-
 thersto attend his majesty, &c.
 p.140
 38 The message of Sept. 7. 1648.

concern. the Treaty, and for some
 Doct. of the civil Law to attend
 at the Treaty at Carisbrook Castle,
 p.142
 39 The message of Nov. 2. 1648.
 for 4 Bishops and 2 Doctors of
 Divinity more, &c. from Newport,
 p.144
 40 The mess. of Sept. 29. 1648.
 containing his majesties conces-
 sions, from Newport, p.144
 1 His Majesties Declar. to all his
 people, Jan. 18. 1647. from Caris-
 brook after the Votes of No ad-
 dresse, p.154
 2 His majesties Declar. concer-
 ning the Treaty, and dislike of
 the Armies proceedings, delivered
 by his majesty to one of his Ser-
 vants, &c. from the Isle of Wight,
 &c. Anno. 1648. p.159

III.

His Majesties Letters to severall Persons, &c.

Letters written by his Majesty to
 severall persons since the begin-
 ning of this Parliament, heretofore
 published at several times, and now
 collected into one Body. Together
 with those intercepted Letters pub-
 lished by the Parliament, &c.
 1 To the house of Peers, about
 the Reprieve of the E. of Strafford
 sent by the Prince, May 11. 1641.
 from White-hall. p.167
 2 To the Lord Keeper, about
 the Attorney General, March 4.

1641. from Royston. p.168
 3 To the Lord Keeper, about
 the Lo. Admiral, March 21. 1642.
 from York. p.170
 4 To the Major of Hull, April
 25. 1642. from York. p.171
 5 To the High Sheriff of York-
 sh. may 15. 1642. from York. p.174
 6 To the Gentry of Yorkshires,
 may 16. 1642. from York. p.176
 7 To the Privy Council of
 Scotland, may 20. 1642. from York.
 p.177
 8 To

8 To the Lord Mayor of
London, June 4. 1642. from York.

p. 179

9 To the Commissioners of Ar-
ray in Leicestershire, June 12. 1642
from York.

p. 181

10 To the Mayor, Aldermen, and
Sheriffs of London, June 14. 1642
from York.

p. 184

11 To the Judges to be pub-
lished in their Circuits, July 4.
1642. from York.

p. 186

12 To the Vice-Chancellor of
Oxford, July 18. 1642. from Bever-
ley.

p. 190.

13 To the Mayor of Oxf. July 22.
1642. Nottin.

p. 191

14 To the Sheriffs of London 1a.
17. 1642. from Oxf.

p. 192

15 To the Sheriff and Justices
of Gloucestershire, Feb. 12. 1642.
from Oxf.

p. 198

16 To the Privy-Council of
Scotland, Dec. 6. 1642. from Oxf.

p. 201

17 To the Privy-Council of
Scotland, Sept. 18. 1642. from
Stratford.

p. 206

18 To the Privy-Council of
Scotland, Octo. 13. 1642. from
Bridgenorth.

p. 208

19 To the Mayor, Sheriffs, and
Com. Counc. of Bristol, about M.
Yeomans, &c. May 29. 1643. from
Oxf.

p. 202

20 To the City of Gloucester, a
Summons, with the Answer, Aug.

10. 1643.

21 To the inhabitants of Corn-
wal, a Letter of thanks, Sept. 10.
1643. from Sudely Castle.

22 To the E. of Essex at Loh-
thel, with another Letter to him,
from the Officers of the Kings
Army, Aug. 6. 1644. from Liskad
in Cornwall.

23 To Prince Rupert after the
loss of Bristol, Aug. 3. 1645. from
Cardiffe.

24 To the M. of Ormond, April
3. 1646. Newcastle.

25 To the Governour of his
Majesties Garrisons, June 10.
1646. from Newcastle.

26 To the D. of York, July 4.
1647. Cawsham.

27 To the M. of Ormond, June
11. 1649. Oxf.

28 To the P. of Wales, June 2.
1646. Newcastle.

29 To Col. Whaley, Nov. 11. 1647.
Hamp. Court.

30 To the L. Mountague, Nov.
11. 1647. from Hamp. Court, with
a Letter from E.R. to his Majesty,

Nov. 9. 1647.

31 To Sir Tho. Fairfax, Nov. 17.
1647. from Carisbrooke Castle.

32 To the Lords, Gentlemen &c
Committee of the Scotch Parl.
together with the Officers of the
Army, July 3. 1648. from Caris-
brooke Castle.

Table of the Contents.

His Majesties private letters to the Queen and others.

His majesties private Letters to the Queen and others, with the Queens letters to his majesty, intercepted and published by the Parl. with his majesties Letter to Secr. Nicholas concerning the publishing of them: and part of one of his majesties Declarations concerning the same.

His majesties Letter to Secr. Nicholas concerning the Parl. intercepting and publishing of his letters,

Part of his majesties Declaration of June 3. 1643. concerning some of the said Letters intercepted and published, 1643. p. 234

1 To the Queen, Jan. 23. 1642. Oxf. p. 236

2 To the Queen, march 2. 1642. Oxf. p. 238

3 To the Qu. Feb. 13. 1643. p. 239

4 To the Qu. Jan. 1. 1644. Oxf. p. 241

5 To the Qu. Jan. 9. 1644. Oxf. p. 242

6 To the Qu. Jan. 14. 1644. Oxf. p. 242

7 To the Qu. Jan. 22. 1644. Oxf. p. 243

8 To the Qu. Jan. 30. 1644. Oxf. p. 244

9 To the Queen, march 13. 1645. Oxf. p. 246

10 To the Qu. march 27. 1645. Oxf. p. 247

11 To the Qu. march 30. 1645. p. 249

12 To the Qu. April 9. 1645. Oxf. p. 252

13 To the Qu. may 4. 1645. Oxf. p. 252

14 To the Queen, may 4. 1644. Droitwich. p. 253

15 To the Qu. June 9. 1645. Oxf. p. 254

16 To the Qu. Dec. 1644. Oxf. p. 256

17 To the Qu. Jan. 2. 1645. Oxf. p. 256

18 To the Queen, Feb. 19. 1645. Oxf. p. 259

19 To the Qu. Feb. 15. 1645. Oxf. p. 262

20 To the Qu. march 9. 1645. Oxf. p. 263

21 To the Qu. march 20. 1645. p. 265

22 To the M. of Ormond, Dec. 15. 1644. Oxf. p. 266

23 To the M. of Ormond, Jan. 7. 1644. Oxf. p. 267

24 To the M. of Ormond, Feb. 16. 1644. Oxf. p. 269

25 To the M. of Ormond, Feb. 27. 1647. p. 270

26 To the D. of R. p. 271

27 To the Lord Fermin, April 14. 1645. Oxf. p. 271

28 The Queen to the King, march 30. 1643. York, p. 273

29 The Qu. to the King, June 27. 1643. Newark, p. 275

30 The Q. to the King, April 3. 1644. p. 276

31 The Q. to the King, April 21.

A Table of the Contents.

<p>11. 1644. Bath. p. 177</p> <p>32 The Q. to the King, Dec. 6. p. 178</p> <p>1644. Paris. p. 178</p> <p>33 The Q. to the Kings, Jan. 27. p. 179</p> <p>1644. Paris. p. 179</p> <p>34 The Q. to the King, march p. 181</p> <p>13. 1944. Paris. p. 181</p> <p>35 Memorials for Secretary Nicholas concerning the Treaty at Uxbridge. p. 182</p>	<p>36 Directions for my Ambassador Commis. p. 182</p> <p>37 Instructions for Col. Cockram, to be pursued in his negotiations, &c. p. 185</p> <p>His majesties own Answer to a Pamphlet, intituled, <i>A Declaration of the Commons of England, &c. expressing their Reasons for no further addresse, &c.</i> p. 193</p>
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The Papers which passed betwixt his majestie and Mr. Alexander Henderson, at Newcastle, concerning the change of Church-Governments.

The second part of his majesties works concerning matters sacred.

ΒΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, *The Pourtraiture of his sacred majesty in his solitudes and sufferings.*

II.

The papers which passed between his majesty and Mr. Marshall, Mr. Vines, Mr. Caril, and Mr. Seaman, ministers attending the Commissioners of Parliament at the Treaty at Newport in the Isle of Wight, concerning Church-Government and Episcopacy.

His majesties Papers concerning Church-Government.

Those that passed between his majesty and Mr. Henderson, at Newcastle, 1646. p. 1

His majesties first paper May 29. 1646. p. 309

Hendersons first paper June 3.

1646.

His majesties second paper, June 6. 1646. p. 312

Hendersons second paper, June 17. 1646. p. 320

His majesties third paper, June 22. 1646. p. 325

Hendersons third paper, July 2. 1646. 337

1646. 345

The prayer which passed between
 his majesty and the minister at
 Newmarket in the life of Wigham,
 &c. p. 107
 The prayer which passed between
 his majesty and the minister at
 Newmarket in the life of Wigham,
 &c. p. 107

The ministers answer. p. 108
 His majesties second paper. p. 108
 The ministers 2 paper. p. 107
 His majesties final Answer. p. 114
 His majesties letter to the
 Prince from Newmarket, Nov. 19.
 1648.

*Prayers used by his majesty in the time of his suffer-
 ings, delivered to Dr. Juxon Bishop of London, im-
 mediately before his death.*

1 A Prayer in time of captivity. p. 10	2 A prayer for pardon of sin, &c. p. 9
3 A prayer used by his Majesties &c. p. 9	4 A prayer and confession in & for the times of affliction. p. 13
4 A prayer drawn by his Maj- &c. p. 13	5 A prayer in time of imminent danger. p. 14

*The tryall of Charles the 1. King of England in the
 Great Hall at Westminster.*

1 His majesties propounded &c. p. 145	7 At the High Court of Justice, &c. p. 147
2 His majesties reasons, &c. p. 145	8 Wednesday, Jan. 24. 1648. p. 14
3 The names of those persons, &c. p. 145	9 The proceedings of the High Court of Justice, &c. p. 16
4 The manner of the tryall of Charles King of Engl. &c. p. 17	10 Resolutions of the Court, &c. p. 33
5 The charge of the commons of England, &c. p. 30	11 Severall Elegies upon the death of King Charles. p. 119
6 At the High Court of Justice, &c. p. 40	

THE END



That did this potent Prince & King of ours
Being too much over-aw'd by Tyrants powers.
Such Monsters sure in nature neer were bred,
Did ere the fete combine against the head.
But I forget: ile tell you the licks muse;
I have red they crucifyed the King o' the Jews.
Accurst bee hee who gave that fatal blow,
Whence England first received its over-throw.
The ages past did eke produce a King
Whence soe much piety, goodness & zeale did spring:
His wisdom was as of that transcendent light,
Little inferior to man's first-state
For his divinity read thou and see
His booke enough to save thy soule may bee.
Sure nature only framed him that eue
Might see by him how perfect man should bee.
Marvill not at his transmutation then
Being comp'ring for Angels not for men.

"Copied from a MS. on the fly leaf of a little book
entitled ΕΙΚΣΙΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ. Printed 1649"

This book formerly belonged to the library of an ancient
Essex family

MS. 2.2.2. 347.